Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities

Volume IX

DEMETRIUS Pof Pof PRINT Pof PRINT Pof PRINT PRINT

Text, Translation and Discussion

Edited by

William W. Fortenbaugh Eckart Schütrumpf

DEMETRIUS PHALERUM

Text, Translation and Discussion

Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities

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Demetrius of Phalerum: Text, Translation and Discussion, volume IX

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First published 2000 by Transaction Publishers

Published 2017 by Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN 711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

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Library of Congress Catalog Number: 99-042625

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Demetrius of Phalerum: text, translation, and discussion / edited by William W. Fortenbaugh and Eckart Schütrumpf.

p. cm. — (Rutgers University studies in classical humanities; v. 9) Includes Greek and Latin texts with facing English translation. Includes bibliographical references and indexes. ISBN 0-7658-0017-9 (alk. paper)

1. Demetrius, of Phaleron, b. 350 B.C. 2. Philosophy, Ancient. I. Fortenbaugh, William W. II. Schütrumpf, Eckart. III. Demetrius, of Phaleron, b. 350 B.C. Selections. Polyglot. IV. Series B557.D33 D46 1999 99-042625

CIP

ISBN 13: 978-0-7658-0017-6 (hbk)

185—dc21

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Preface

The series Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities (RUSCH) originated in close conjunction with Project Theophrastus. The latter, founded in the spring of 1981, had as its primary goal a new collection of the fragments of Theophrastus of Eresus, Aristotle's pupil and second head of the Peripatetic School. The former, RUSCH, was conceived of as a vehicle for making public the results of biennial meetings organized by Project Theophrastus. That plan has been adhered to with good results. Eight volumes of RUSCH have appeared since 1983. Seven are concerned either exclusively with Theophrastus or more generally with a theme of interest to scholars working on the Eresian. An eighth volume, no. 7 in the series, is a Festschrift honoring Ian Kidd, a loyal friend of Project Theophrastus.

In 1992 Project Theophrastus achieved its primary goal with the publication of Theophrastus of Eresus: Sources for His Life, Writings, Thought and Influence. Since then members of the Project have been working on nine commentaries of which two have appeared, both by Robert Sharples, a third by Pamela Huby is nearing publication. Biennial meetings have continued and one, that held in 1993, continued the focus on Theophrastus. After that a change occurred. Members of the Project recognized that the experience gained in working on Theophrastus might be directed toward other Peripatetics, whose fragments have not been collected and edited in a way that meets current philological standards. The existing collections made by Fritz Wehrli and published under the title Die Schule des Aristoteles are now forty years old. They are not complete and they lack a facing translation. To rectify this situation, it was decided to broaden the activities of the Project to include the colleagues and successors of Theophrastus. In fall 1995, a conference was held at the University of Colorado at Boulder under the direction of Eckart Schütrumpf. The subjects of discussion were Dicaearchus of Messene and Demetrius of Phalerum. This volume represents the first fruits of that gathering. It contains a new edition of

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the fragments of Demetrius with facing English translation. Also included are the papers presented at Boulder. They are not intended as a systematic commentary on all the fragments of Demetrius. Rather they pick out issues of especial interest and offer a view peculiar to the author. The next volume of RUSCH will concern Dicaearchus and be similar in format.

We wish to thank the College of Arts and Sciences of the University of Colorado for providing the space and funding necessary for a successful international conference. In addition, we want to acknowledge the editorial assistance of Catherine McKeen, Rutgers University, and the preparation of camera ready copy accomplished by Diane Smith, Waco, Texas.

WWF and ES

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1

Demetrius of Phalerum: The Sources, Text and Translation

Peter Stork, Jan Max van Ophuijsen, Tiziano Dorandi

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INTRODUCTION

In presenting this edition of the fragments of Demetrius of Phalerum, we are responding to a growing interest in the Hellenistic period and in the philosophical schools of that age. The fragments of Theophrastus, Aristotle's successor and pupil, were published in 1992 (FHS&G); now we are publishing the fragments of Demetrius, Theophrastus' pupil and ruler of Athens from 317 to 307 B.C.

In general, the present edition is modeled on that of Theophrastus. In particular, the texts are divided into sections in accordance with their subject matter. In all there are six main sections: I. texts concerning the *Life* of Demetrius; II. texts containing *Sayings* attributed to Demetrius; III. texts concerning the *Writings* attributed to Demetrius; IV. texts of which the attribution to Demetrius is considered *Uncertain*; V. texts that appear to be *Spurious* in the sense that they have been falsely attributed to Demetrius; and VI. texts that have been attributed to Demetrius in earlier times (mainly in Ostermann's edition) and have been listed under the heading *Not Accepted* mainly for ease of reference.

Within the six main sections, subsections have been established. The texts concerning the *Life* of Demetrius (I) have been subdivided into *Ancient Biographies* (i.e., Diogenes Laertius and the *Suda*); texts concerning his *Private Life*; texts concerning his place within the *Peripatos*; texts concerning his *Public Life*, arranged in chronological order; texts concerning his activities as Legislator in Athens; texts concerning his (alleged) activities as *Director of the Alexandrian Library*; and texts containing *Various Reports* about him. The *Sayings* attributed to Demetrius have been collected as a separate group (II), placed between the texts concerning his Life (I) and those concerning his *Writings* (III). The texts concerning the *Writings* attributed to Demetrius (III) have tentatively been subdivided according to their subject matter under the headings *Ethics*, *Religion*, *Politics*, *Speeches-Rhetoric-Poetics*, *Songs*, *Letters* and *Miscellaneous*.

Arranging the texts under these headings has on the whole been relatively easy. A different matter, however, is that of assigning the texts to

specific writings and of arranging the transmitted titles of writings under the general headings. The difficulty here is that there are few texts in which a specific writing is cited by title, and that there are quite a few titles to which no text can be related. Hence, the heading *Miscellaneous* contains a relatively large number of titles. For the convenience of the user, the titles have been collected in a number of lists (81, 88, 118, 149, 150) with references to those texts in which titles are quoted explicitly. Furthermore, texts which (containing an explicit mention of the title) clearly belong to the same writing, have been placed together as much as possible in order to facilitate studying the contents of the writing.

By and large the distinction between texts concerning the Life (I) and those concerning the Sayings (II), on the one hand, and those concerning the Writings (III), on the other, corresponds to the traditional distinction between testimonia and fragmenta. This correspondence is not, however, complete; thus, for instance, the texts containing Judgments on Demetrius' Elocution (119–125) have been placed under the heading Speeches, Rhetoric and Poetics in the Writings (III) to effect a greater coherence of subject matter.

The texts are numbered from 1 to 176. Sometimes a number covers several texts which are distinguished by letters (A, B, C, etc.). These texts refer to the same specific subject matter (in that sense they are parallel texts), but they supply information which is significantly different and for that reason they are quoted in full. Partly as a result of this, the total number of texts (176) is considerably less than the total number in Wehrli's edition (204), the other reason being that a bare title is not given a separate number, as it often is in Wehrli's edition.

In editing the texts, the editors have taken as their starting-point the text of an existing recent edition (mentioned in the heading of the text with line numbers of the edition used). This does not, however, mean that the text printed here is always identical to that of the source edition. There are changes which are accounted for in the *lower* or *critical apparatus*, and which reflect our editorial policy. In the case of an edition of fragments, problems relating to the constitution of the text ought, in the opinion of the editors, to be made perfectly clear to the user and not be

glossed over in order to effect an 'easy' reading. The two most important cases are *lacunae* (especially in inscriptions or papyri, where editors often print or suggest supplements) and *emendations* (especially in literary texts, where sometimes an emendation might make it easy to forget that the text printed has been altered by a modern scholar). This is not merely a matter of editorial finesse, for sometimes the passage affected may contain essential information (e.g., **16B** with a lacuna in an inscription, and **51** with emendations of a literary text). Thus, *lacunae* have been left as they are, and sometimes *cruces* have been used to signal corruption, where other editors might print an emended text.

The texts as printed in this edition are based upon the information supplied in the editions used and no original research on the paradosis has been done by the editors, with the following exceptions. All texts from Diogenes Laertius (1, 10, 33B, 48, 49, 84, 85, 93, 94, 106, 107, 108, 109) are based upon collations made by Tiziano Dorandi in preparing a new edition of the Vitae Philosophorum. All papyri texts (37, 41, 130, 131A, 131B, 131C, 132, 134, 135C, 141, 142) are based upon inspection of the papyri by Tiziano Dorandi or colleagues of his. In the case of the two Strabo texts (19, 116A), Professor Stefan L. Radt of Groningen University, The Netherlands, who is preparing a new edition of the Geographica, has generously put at our disposal the text with apparatus criticus as constituted by him. In the case of the inscriptions (16B, 23C, 46, 151, 152, 162), Stephen V. Tracy has very kindly checked the texts printed here against the 'squeezes' which are at his disposal.

The upper apparatus includes at least four kinds of information. First, there are references to the corresponding testimonia and fragmenta in F. Jacoby's edition of the Fragmente der griechischen Historiker (FGrH) no. 228, II B 956–73. References to Wehrli's edition are given in the left margin of the Greek text at the line where Wehrli's fragment begins. Second, there are parallel texts, i.e. first of all parallel texts in the strict sense which explicitly mention Demetrius of Phalerum (the line numbers of the edition used are always added in these cases), but also parallel texts in a wider sense which, without referring to Demetrius, contain information that seems to be particularly relevant to the interpretation of the text (the passage or text is merely cited in these

cases and often introduced by means of cf.). Third, references are given to modern editions or collections of fragments of authors mentioned in the text. Fourth, there are cross-references by means of numbers in bold type to other texts in the present collection in order to assist the user in collecting information quickly and easily.

The translation tries to effect the impossible in being readable and at the same time as close to the original as possible. Without unduly begging the reader's indulgence on this point, the editors would like to point out that ironically enough among the five scholars who worked on the translation, there is only one native speaker of (American) English.

The notes to the translation serve two purposes. First, they may supply (often quite basic) information which will assist the user in understanding and interpreting the text or, particularly in the case of the 'historical' testimonia, in placing it in its historical context. Second, they place the text within the wider context of the work from which it has been taken. Although the notes are not intended as a full commentary, they are fuller than they would be if the editors were planning to add a companion volume containing a commentary.

Tables of Abbreviations and of Editions Used have been provided. All abbreviations not found in these tables are those of LSJ. The Concordances relate the texts in this edition to the editions of F. Wehrli (1968), F. Jacoby (1926), C. Müller (1878) and Chr. Ostermann (1857). The Index of Demetrian Texts lists all Demetrian texts in the strict sense of the word, i.e. all texts explicitly mentioning Demetrius of Phalerum, printed here as a text (indicated by means of numbers in bold type) or entered in a list, and all parallel texts in the strict sense, i.e. all parallel texts explicitly mentioning Demetrius of Phalerum, entered in the upper apparatus. All other passages cited in the upper (or lower) apparatus and in the notes to the translation are listed in the Index of Passages Cited. Finally, it is hoped that the Index of Names to the translation will help the user in finding his way through the fragments more quickly.

Work on this edition began early in 1994, when Bill Fortenbaugh suggested to Jan van Ophuijsen that he prepare a working translation of the fragments as collected by Wehrli for the Conference of Project

Theophrastus, which was to be held in Boulder, Colorado in September 1995. Later that year when Jan accepted an appointment at the American University of Beirut, which does not have a Classics department and whose library holdings in this field are accordingly limited, he found Peter Stork willing to share this assignment, and in the end it was Peter who not only translated some two-thirds of the material but also prepared a working edition of the expanded Greek and Latin texts. This edition-cum-translation, after being overhauled by Bill Fortenbaugh, was placed at the disposal of those who participated in the Ninth Conference of Project Theophrastus which was hosted by Eckart Schütrumpf, at the University of Colorado at Boulder, Colorado, September 7–10, 1995. After the conference Peter Stork submitted a number of revised and expanded versions to Tiziano Dorandi, Bill Fortenbaugh, Jan van Ophuijsen, and Eckart Schütrumpf. Apart from editing all texts of Diogenes Laertius and all papyri, Tiziano Dorandi has been a constant source of critical advice on technical matters relating to the editing of the texts, as Bill Fortenbaugh has been on those relating to the translation and general editorial technique. Eckart Schütrumpf played a pivotal part in establishing a new arrangement of the fragments, and scrutinized part of the translations. And at the end of the journey Jan van Ophuijsen went through the completed material, combing out remaining oversights and suggesting improvements.

Stephen V. Tracy, in addition to being responsible for the reassignment of an important text (162), has generously put at our disposal his expertise in matters inscriptional. Besides checking the readings of the inscriptions against his 'squeezes', he has given advice on placing the various inscriptions, including some intriguing new material, in the different sections and on arranging the 'historical' testimonia. Michael G. Sollenberger has helped with acute comments on the translation, particularly on that of Diogenes Laertius' *Life of Demetrius*.

Work on this edition has been made considerably easier by the facilities offered by the CD ROM disk #D of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* and the Packard Humanities Institute CD ROM disks #5.3 (Latin Texts) and #7 (Inscriptions and Papyri).

Although this edition, then, is the result of collaboration between a number of scholars coming from quite different fields of expertise and

quite different parts of the world, the bulk of the actual editing has been done by Peter Stork, who therefore holds himself responsible for any technical shortcomings that remain. In token of this close collaboration, the editors would very much appreciate the present edition being referred to by means of the abbreviation 'SOD'.

Finally, the editors acknowledge a debt of gratitude to the other contributors to the present volume for their patience in waiting for its publication.

ABBREVIATIONS AND EDITIONS USED

The list under (a) explains the abbreviations used in this collection to refer to other standard collections and scholarly journals; that under (b) lists the text editions used in this collection; that under (c) explains the other abbreviations used; and that under (d) explains the symbols used in the apparatus of this collection.

(a) Names, Standard Collections, Scholarly Journals etc.

AD 'Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον. 'Αθηναι

Agora The Athenian Agora. Vol. III Literary and Epigraphical

Testimonia by R.E. Wycherley; Vol. XIX Inscriptions by G.V. Lalonde, M.K. Langdon, M.B. Walbank. Princeton NJ 1957.

1991

AM Athenische Mitteilungen

Ann. Rom. L'Annalistique Romaine. Tome I Les Annales des Pontifes et

l'Annalistique Ancienne (Fragments) ed. M. Chassignet. Paris

1996 [CB]

AP Anthologia Palatina

APF J.K. Davies, Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C. Ox-

ford 1971

AR Archaeological Reports. British School at Athens

ASA Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni

italiane in Oriente

Bayer *DPhA* E. Bayer, *Demetrios Phalereus der Athener*. Darmstadt 1969

BCH Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique

BGMA Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi. Vol. 7. Venice 1894

BT Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana.

Leipzig B.G. Teubner

CA Collectanea Alexandrina ed. J.U. Powell. Oxford 1925

CB Collection des Universités de France publiée sous le patronage

de l'Association Guillaume Budé. Paris Les Belles Lettres

CC Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina

CGF Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta ed. G. Kaibel. Vol. 1.1 Ber-

lin ²1954 (1899)

CPF Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci e Latini. Testi e lessico nei

papiri di cultura greca e latina. Parte I: Autori Noti. Vol. 1**.

Firenze 1992

CPG Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum edd. E.L. Leutsch, F.G.

Schneidewin. 2 vols. Göttingen 1839. 1851

CR Classical Review

CRIPEL Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et

d'Egyptologie de Lille

Croenert W. Crönert, Kolotes und Menedemos. Leipzig 1906

CSHB Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
CSLP Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum Paravianum

Curse Tablets J.G. Gager, Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient

World. Oxford 1992

Diehl III³ Anthologia Lyrica Graeca ed. E. Diehl. Vol. 3 Iamborum

Scriptores. Leipzig ³1952 [BT]

Dittenberger Syll.³ Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum ed. W. Dittenberger. 3 vols.

Leipzig 1915. 1917. 1920

DK Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker edd. H. Diels, W. Kranz. 3

vols. Berlin 61951. 61952. 61952

Dow and Travis St. Dow and A.H. Travis, 'Demetrios of Phaleron and his

Lawgiving,' Hesperia 12 (1943) 144-65

Drerup E. Drerup, Demosthenes im Urteile des Altertums. Würzburg

1923

EG Epistolographi Graeci ed. R. Hercher. Paris 1873

EpGF Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta ed. M. Davies. Göttingen 1988
FGrH Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker ed. F. Jacoby. Leiden

1926-58

FHG Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum ed. C. Müller. Paris 1841-

70

FHS&G Theophrastus of Eresus. Sources for his Life, Writings, Thought

and Influence, edd. W.W. Fortenbaugh, P.M. Huby, R.W.

Sharples, D. Gutas. 2 vols. Leiden 1992

FPhG Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum ed. Fr.W.A. Mullach. 2

vols. Paris 1860. 1867

GGA Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen. Berlin

GCS Die Griechischen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte. Berlin

GRBS Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies

GRF Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta ed. H. Funaioli. Vol. 1.

Leipzig 1907

Habicht Athen Chr. Habicht, Athen. Die Geschichte der Stadt in hellenistischer

Zeit. München 1995

Hansen Demography M.H. Hansen, Demography and Democracy. The Number of

Athenian Citizens in the Fourth Century B.C. Herning 1986

HRR Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae ed. H. Peter. Vol. 1. Leipzig

1914

HT Heidelberger Texte Lateinische Reihe

Hume D. Hume, 'On the Populousness of Ancient Nations,' in: Essays

Moral, Political and Literary 1752

IG Inscriptiones Graecae

Jacoby MP Das Marmor Parium ed. F. Jacoby. Berlin 1904

JClPh Jahrbücher für classische Philologie herausgegeben von Alfred

Fleckeisen

Jordan D.R. Jordan, 'A Survey of Greek Defixiones Not Included in

the Special Corpora,' GRBS 26 (1985) 151-97

Kaibel De Comoedia Graeca Commentaria Vetera in CGF Vol. 1.1.

Berlin ²1958 (1899)

Keil B. Keil, EIPHNH. Eine philologisch-antiquarische Unter-

suchung. Leipzig 1916

LG Lexicographi Graeci. Leipzig

Martini *RE* E. Martini, s.v. Demetrios no. 85, *RE* 4 (1901) 2817–41

MDAI(A) Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,

Athenische Abteilung

MG Mythographi Graeci MH Museum Helveticum

Mylonas Eleusis G.E. Mylonas, Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries. Princeton

NJ 1961

N.² Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta ed. A. Nauck. Leipzig ²1889

(with suppl. ed. B. Snell. Hildesheim 1964)

NSERC A. Maiuri, Nuova Silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos. Firenze 1925

OCT Oxford Classical Texts. Oxford Clarendon Press

Overbeck Die Antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste

bei den Griechen ed. J. Overbeck. Leipzig 1868

PA Prosopographia Attica ed. J. Kirchner. 2 vols. Berlin 1901–03
PCG Poetae Comici Graeci edd. R. Kassel et C. Austin. Berlin/New

York 1983-

PG Patrologia cursus completus, series Graeca ed. J.P. Migne. Paris

1857–66

P.Herc. Papyrus Herculanensis

PMG Poetae Melici Graeci ed. D.L. Page. Oxford 1962

PPhF Poetarum Philosophorum Fragmenta ed. H. Diels. Berlin 1901

PSI Papiri della Società Italiana

PVTG Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece

RE Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft

REG Revue des Études Grecques

RFIC Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica

RhG Rhetores Graeci ed. Chr. Walz. Stuttgart/Tübingen. Vol. 2 1835;

Vol. 7.2 1834

RhGr Rhetores Graeci ed. L. Spengel. 3 vols. Leipzig 1853. 1854.

1856

Rhetores Graeci ed. L. Spengel. Vol. 1 ed. C. Hammer. Leipzig

1894

Rhetores Graeci Vol. 14 Prolegomenon Sylloge ed. H. Rabe.

Leipzig 1931

RhLM Rhetores Latini Minores ed. C. Halm. Leipzig 1863

RhM Rheinisches Museum für Philologie

Robert OMS

L. Robert, Opera minora selecta. Vol. 1. Amsterdam 1969

RS

Roman Statutes ed. M.H. Crawford. Vol. 2. London 1996

RUSCH Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities

SA Scholia in Aristophanem edd. W.J.W. Koster, D. Holwerda.

Groningen

SC Sources Chrétiennes

SGL Scriptores Graeci et Latini consilio Academiae Lynceorum editi.

Rome

SEG Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum

SH Supplementum Hellenisticum edd. H. Lloyd-Jones, P. Parsons.

Berlin/New York 1983

SOEM K. Clinton, The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries.

Philadelphia 1974

SSR Socratis et Socraticorum Reliquiae ed. G. Giannantoni. Vols. 1,

2. Napoli 1990

SVF Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta ed. J. von Arnim. Vol. 3 Chrysippi

Fragmenta Moralia. Fragmenta Successorum Chrysippi. Leipzig

1903

Tracy ADT Stephen V. Tracy, Athenian Democracy in Transition. Attic Let-

ter-Cutters of 340 to 290 B.C. Berkeley 1995

TrGF Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta Vol. 1. edd. B. Snell, R.

Kannicht. Göttingen ²1986

Wehrli Die Schule des Aristoteles. Texte und Kommentar herausgegeben

von Fritz Wehrli. Band 4 Demetrios von Phaleron. Basel/Stuttgart

²1968

West GM M.L. West, Greek Metre. Oxford 1982

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Flor. Pal.	Florilegium Palatinum (Palatinus Graecus 356) ed. C.
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(c) Other abbreviations

a. anno

aCn ante Christum natum

ad loc. ad locum apud ap. apparatus app. cf. confer coll. collato **Epoche** Ep. explic. explicavit F Fragmentum

fin. fine
in. initio
seclus. seclusit
l. linea/line
mg. (in) margine

n. note no. number p. pagina

pCn post Christum natum

saeculo saec. schol. scholium sub voce S.V. Testimonium T

vide V.

* not in Wehrli

(d) Symbols used in the apparatus

littera addenda/suppleta <α> [**a**] littera spuria, eliminanda †... vel †...† locus nondum sanatus

α [α] `α΄ littera in titulo vel papyro incerta

littera in titulo vel papyro non servata et coniectura suppleta

littera in papyro supra lineam addita

I. VITA

Demetrii Phalerii Vitae Antiquae

Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.75–83 (OCT 1.236.20–241.2 Long)

[ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ]

Δημήτριος Φανοστράτου Φαληρεύς. οδίτος ήκουσε μέν 2 W Θεοφράστου · δημηγορῶν δὲ παρ' 'Αθηναίοις τῆς πόλεως 24 W έξηγήσατο έτη δέκα, καὶ εἰκόνων ήξιώθη χαλκῶν έξήκοντα πρὸς ταῖς τριακοσίαις, ὧν αἱ πλείους ἐφ' ἵππων ήσαν καὶ άρμάτων καὶ συνωρίδων, συντελεσθεῖσαι ἐν ούδὲ τριακοσίαις ἡμέραις τοσοῦτον ἐσπουδάσθη. ἄρ-6 W ξασθαι δ' αὐτὸν τῆς πολιτείας φησὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης έν τοῖς 'Ομωνύμοις, ὁπότε φυγὼν 'Αλέξανδρον εἰς 'Αθήνας ἡκεν ''Αρπαλος. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κάλλιστα τῆ πατ-28 W ρίδι ἐπολιτεύσατο, καὶ γὰρ προσόδοις καὶ κατασκευαῖς ηύξησε τὴν πόλιν, καίπερ οὐκ εὐγενὴς ἄν. ἦν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς 2 W Κόνωνος οἰκίας, ὡς Φαβωρῖνος ἐν πρώτῳ τῶν ᾿Απομνημονευμάτων φησίν, άλλ' άστη καὶ εὐγενεῖ συνώκει 38 WΛαμία τη ἐρωμένη, καθάπερ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ πρώτῷ φησίν 15 άλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ Κλέωνος πεπονθέναι ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἱστορεῖ. Δίδυμος δ' ἐν Συμποσιακοῖς καὶ Χαριτοβλέφαρον καὶ Λαμπιτὼ καλεῖσθαι αὐτόν φησιν ἀπό τινος ἑταίρας. λέγεται δ' ἀποβαλόντα αὐτὸν τὰς ὄψεις ἐν 'Αλεξαν-68 W δρεία, κομίσασθαι αὖθις παρὰ τοῦ Σαράπιδος · ὅθεν καὶ 20 100/200 W τούς παιᾶνας ποιῆσαι τούς μέχρι νῦν ἀδομένους. σφόδρα δὲ λαμπρὸς ὢν παρὰ τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις, ὅμως 52 W

2-5 228 T 1 FGrH 2 Φανοστράτου] cf. 2.1; 16B.3; 17.8; Ars. 188.18 Walz app. 38.1-6; 152.2 2-3 ἤκουσε μὲν Θεοφράστου] Thphr. no. 18.5 FHS&G 3 δημηγορῶν] cf. 62; 121.3-4; 131B.1-3 4 ἔτη δέκα] cf. 19.5; 30.25; 23A et 26 7-27 228 T 1 FGrH 7-10 Demetr. Magn. F 16 Mejer 12-14 Favorin. F 37 Barigazzi 12-14 Favorin. F 6 Mensching 14-15 Favorin. F 7 Mensching 16-17 Favorin. F 11 Mensching = F 41 Barigazzi || ὑπὸ Κλέωνος πεπονθέναι] cf. 78; 2.7-8 17-18 Did. F 5 Schmidt p. 374 19-21 228 T 6d FGrH 20 κομίσασθαι—Σαράπιδος] cf. 86.8 22-5 σφόδρα—ὧφλεν] = Suda φ 510 (LG 1.4.743.6-8 Adler), omisso ἐπιβουλευθεὶς 22-4 ὅμως—φθόνου] cf. 2.9-10; 19.13-14; 40.3 →

I. LIFE

Ancient Biographies of Demetrius of Phalerum

Diogenes Laertius, *The Lives of the Philosophers* 5.75–83 (*OCT* 1.236.20–241.2 Long)

[DEMETRIUS]

Demetrius, son of Phanostratus, of the deme Phalerum. He atten-75 ded the lectures of Theophrastus. Through public speeches before the Athenians, he led the city for ten years and was awarded three hundred sixty bronze statues. Of these the majority portrayed him on horseback, on a chariot or driving a pair of horses. (The statues) were finished in less than three hundred days; so highly was he regarded. Demetrius of Magnesia in his Namesakes says that he entered politics at the time when Harpalus, fleeing Alexander, came to Athens. Through his political activity he achieved for his fatherland much that was splendid: he added to the city both income and buildings, even though he was not well-born. For he 76 was from the house of Conon, as Favorinus says in the first book of his *Memoirs*, but lived with a well-born fellow-citizen, Lamia, as her lover, as the same author says in the first book. But he also recounts in the second book that (Demetrius) was abused by Cleon; and Didymus in his Table-talk says that he was called "Gracelid" and "Radiant" after some courtesan. He is said to have lost his eyesight in Alexandria and to have retrieved it from Sarapis, which is how he came to compose those paeans which are still sung to this day.

Although he was quite illustrious among the Athenians, he too

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conspectus siglorum:
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B cod. Neapolitanus Burbonicus gr. III B 29 (s. XII)

P cod. Parisinus gr. 1759 (s. XIII ex.)

F cod. Laurentianus 69.13 (s. XIII in.)

PX corrector cod. P, qui agnosci non potest

 $[\]Omega$ consensus codd. BPF = hyparchetypon

Φ epitome Laertii Diogenis in cod. Vaticano gr. 96 (s. XII in.) servata

X consensus Ω et Φ = archetypon

¹ tit. om. Ω 3 δημαγωγῶν Jacoby coll. Suda δ 429 19 ἀποβαλόντα $BP\Phi$: τυφλωθέντα F 20 παρὰ BP: ἀπὸ F 21 μέχρι BP: μέχρι τοῦ F

52 W

26

ἐπεσκοτήθη καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ τὰ πάντα διεσθίοντος φθόνου. ἐπιβουλευθεὶς γὰρ ὑπό τινων δίκην θανάτου οὐ παρὼν ὦφλεν. οὐ μὴν ἐκυρίευσαν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, 25 ἀλλὰ τὸν ἰὸν ἀπήρυγον εἰς τὸν χαλκόν, κατασπάσαντες αὐτοῦ τὰς εἰκόνας καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀποδόμενοι, τὰς δὲ βυθίσαντες, τὰς δὲ κατακόψαντες εἰς ἀμίδας · λέγεται γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο. μία δὲ μόνη σώζεται ἐν ἀκροπόλει. Φαβωρινος δέ φησιν ἐν Παντοδαπῆ ἱστορία τοῦτο ποιῆσαι τοὺς 30 'Αθηναίους Δημητρίου κελεύσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπέγραψαν ἀνομίας, ὡς Φαβωρῖνος.

69 W 78

φησὶ δ' αὐτὸν Έρμιππος μετὰ τὸν Κασάνδρου θάνατον φοβηθέντα 'Αντίγονον παρὰ Πτολεμαῖον ἐλθεῖν 35 τὸν Σωτῆρα· κἀκεῖ χρόνον ἱκανὸν διατρίβοντα συμβουλεύειν τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῖς ἐξ Εὐρυδίκης περιθεῖναι παισί. τοῦ δὲ οὐ πεισθέντος ἀλλὰ παραδόντος τὸ διάδημα τῷ ἐκ Βερενίκης, μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ἀξιωθῆναι πρὸς 40 τούτου παραφυλάττεσθαι ἐν τῆ χώρα μέχρι τι δόξει περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἐνταῦθα ἀθυμότερον διῆγε· καί πως ὑπνώττων ὑπ' ἀσπίδος τὴν χεῖρα δηχθεὶς τὸν βίον μεθῆκε. καὶ τέθαπται ἐν τῷ Βουσιρίτη νομῷ πλησίον Διοσπόλεως.

79

καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπεγράψαμεν ἡμεῖς [παρ' ἡμῖν] ·
ἀνεῖλεν ἀσπὶς τὸν σοφὸν Δημήτριον
ἰὸν ἔχουσα πολὺν
ἄσμηκτον, οὐ στίλβουσα φῶς ἀπ' ὀμμάτων
ἀλλ' ἀΐδην μέλανα.

45

69 W

Ήρακλείδης δ' ἐν τῆ ἐπιτομῆ τῶν Σωτίωνος Δια- 50 δοχῶν τῷ Φιλαδέλφῷ τὴν βασιλείαν θέλειν ἐκχωρῆσαι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον · τὸν δ' ἀποτρέπειν φάσκοντα, "ἀν ἄλλῷ δῷς, σὸ οὸχ ἕξεις." ὁπηνίκα δ' ἐσυκοφαντεῖτο ἐν ταῖς 'Αθήναις—μανθάνω γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο—Μένανδρος ὁ κωμικὸς παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθε κριθῆναι δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὅτι 55

57 W

24–5 ἐπιβουλευθεὶς—ὦφλεν] cf. **23E**.8; **31**.7–11 29–54 228 T 1 FGrH 29–33 Favorin. F 70 Barigazzi 29–31 Favorin. F 38 Mensching 32–3 Favorin. F 54 Mensching 34–44 Hermipp. F 58 Wehrli 45–9 AP VII 113 50–3 Heraclid. Lemb. F 10 FHG III 170 = Sotion F 18 Wehrli 53–7 Men. T 8 Koerte 54–6 μανθάνω—αὐτῷ] = Suda μ 155 (LG 1.3.320.2–3 Adler)

came under the shadow of all-devouring envy. Impeached by certain people he was sentenced to death while being absent. They did not, however, get hold of him in person but spitted out their venom on the bronze (portraits): they tore down his likenesses, sold some, threw others into the sea and cut still others into pieces in order to make chamber-pots of them; for this too is related. Only one statue is preserved on the Acropolis. Favorinus in his *Varied Inquiry* says that the Athenians did this at the order of King Demetrius. But according to Favorinus, they also registered the year in which he was archon as (the year) of 'lawlessness'.

Hermippus says that after the death of Cassander, fearing Antigonus, he went to Ptolemy the Saviour, and that staying there quite a while he advised Ptolemy, among other things, to bestow the kingship on his children by Eurydice. He (Ptolemy) remained unpersuaded and handed his diadem on to his son by Berenice; (then) after the king's death this son thought fit to have Demetrius guarded in the country pending a judgment about him. There he lived in considerable despondency, and somehow while sleeping he was bitten in the hand by an asp and died. He is buried in the district of Busiris near Diospolis.²

For him too I have composed an epigram:

An asp took the life of the wise Demetrius,

one with much venom

78

79

lacking a purge; whose eyes did not gleam with light but with black death.

Heraclides in his epitome of Sotion's Successions (says) that Ptolemy was minded to leave his kingdom to Philadelphus, but (Demetrius) tried to dissuade (him) saying "If you give (it) to another, you will not have (it)." At a time when he was being sued in Athens—for this too has come to my notice—, the comic poet Menander was almost brought to trial for no other reason than that

²³ διεσθίοντος BP: κατεσθίοντος F 32 τῷ ἔτει $P^{x\gamma\rho}$; τὸ ἐπὶ BP: τῷ ἔπει F 43 μεθῆκε Kuehn: μετέθηκε X 45 παρ' ἡμῖν del. Scaliger 54 τοῦτο ὅτι Suda μ 155

φίλος ήν αὐτῷ. ἀλλ' αὐτὸν παρητήσατο Τελεσφόρος ὁ * άνεψιὸς τοῦ Δημητρίου. πλήθει δὲ βιβλίων καὶ ἀριθμῷ στίχων σχεδὸν ἄπ-80 74 W αντας παρελήλακε τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν περιπατητικούς, εύπαίδευτος ὢν καὶ πολύπειρος παρ' ὁντινοῦν· ὧν ἐστι 189 W τὰ μὲν ἱστορικά, τὰ δὲ πολιτικά, τὰ δὲ περὶ ποιητῶν, τὰ δὲ ἡητορικά, δημηγοριῶν τε καὶ πρεσβειῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴν 174-86 W καὶ λόγων Αἰσωπείων συναγωγαὶ καὶ ἄλλα πλείω. ἔστι δὲ τὰ 112 W Περὶ τῆς 'Αθήνησι νομοθεσίας α' β' γ' δ'ε', 65 139-47 W Περὶ τῶν 'Αθήνησι πολιτειῶν α' β', 139-47 W Περὶ δημαγωγίας α' β', 129 W Περὶ πολιτικῆς α', β', 126 W Περὶ νόμων α΄, 127 W Περὶ ἡητορικῆς α' β', 156-73 W 70 Στρατηγικών α' β', 123-4 W Περὶ Ἰλιάδος α΄β΄, 190-3 w 81 Περὶ 'Οδυσσείας α' β' γ' δ', 190-3 W Πτολεμαΐος α', 108 W Έρωτικὸς α΄, 85 W 75 Φαιδώνδας α΄, 109 W Μαίδων α΄, 107 W Κλέων α', 106 W Σωκράτης α΄, 91-8 W 'Αρτοξέρξης α΄, 104 W 80 'Ομηρικὸς α΄, 190-3 W 'Αριστείδης α', 102 W 'Αριστόμαχος α', 103 W Προτρεπτικός α΄, 77 W Υπέρ της πολιτείας α΄, 131-8 W 85 Περὶ τῆς δεκαετίας α', 131-8 W Περὶ τῶν Ἰώνων α΄, 148 W

> 58–110 228 T 1 FGrH 58–64 Aesopica T 74 Perry 58-9 πλήθει---περιπατητικούς] cf. 2.3; 6; 19.11-13 60 εὐπαίδευτος οντινοῦν] cf. **56**.8; **62**.6; **63**.10–11; **64**.6–7 60–4 cf. **2**.3–4 et v. **80**, 81, 88, 118, 149, 150 65-9 v. 88 70 v. **118** 71 v. **88** 72-74 v. **150** 77v. **150** 78**-** → 3 v. **118** 75. v. **81** 76 v. **88**

he was a friend of him (Demetrius). But Demetrius' cousin Telesphorus got him off.

In quantity of books and number of lines he surpassed almost all the members of the Peripatos of his day; he was well-educated and widely experienced beyond anyone. Of these (books) some are historical, some political, some on poets and some rhetorical; there are collections (not only) of public speeches and embassy addresses, but also of Aesopic fables and much more. They are:

On Legislation in Athens, 5 books On Constitutions in Athens, 2 books On Leadership of the people, 2 books On (the Art of) Politics, 2 books On Laws, 1 book On (the Art of) Rhetoric, 2 books Matters of Strategy, 2 books On the Iliad, 2 books 81 On the Odyssey, 4 books Ptolemy, 1 book (Dialogue) on Love, 1 book Phaedondas, 1 book Maedon, 1 book Cleon, 1 book Socrates, 1 book Artoxerxes, 1 book (Dialogue) on Homer, 1 book Aristides, 1 book Aristomachus, 1 book Exhortation, 1 book In Defence of the Constitution, 1 book On the Ten Years, 1 book On the Ionians, 1 book

80

9 v. **88** 80 v. **150** 81 v. **118** 82–3 v. **88** 84 v. **81** 85–6 v. **88** 87 v. **150**

⁵⁸ ἀριθμῷ FP^x : -ῶν PB^2 (om. B) 66 πολιτεῶν F: -τῶν BP 68 πολιτικῆς BP: -κῶν F 73 α΄ β΄ γ΄ δ΄ ε΄ P^x 77 Μαίδων BP: μέδων F: †Μαίδων Jacoby: Μέδων Herwig: Μίδων Hirzel (cf. 3.62) 80 ante 'Αρτοξέρξης α΄ add. 'Αριστόμαχος α΄ BP (sed cf. 83)

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Πρεσβευτικός α',
174-86 W
          Περὶ πίστεως α΄,
87 W
          Περὶ χάριτος α΄,
88 W
                                                                     90
          Περὶ τύχης α',
79-81 W
          Περὶ μεγαλοψυχίας α΄,
78 W
          Περί γάμου α΄,
86 W
          Περὶ τοῦ δοκοῦ α΄,
187 W
          Περὶ εἰρήνης α΄,
89 W
                                                                     95
          Περὶ νόμων α΄,
127 W
          Περὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων α΄,
90 W
          Περί καιροῦ α΄,
84 W
          Διονύσιος α΄,
105 W
          Χαλκιδικός α΄,
                                                                    100
111 W
          'Αθηναίων καταδρομή α΄,
131-8 W
          Περὶ 'Αντιφάνους α',
194 W
          Προοίμιον ίστορικὸν α΄,
130 W
           Έπιστολαὶ α΄,
197 W
          Έκκλησία ἔνορκος α΄,
128 W
                                                                    105
          Περὶ γήρως α΄,
82-3 W
          Δίκαια α',
125 W
          Αἰσωπείων α΄,
112 W
          Χρειῶν α΄,
113 W
             χαρακτήρ δὲ φιλόσοφος, εὐτονία ἡητορική καὶ 110
     82
181 W
          δυνάμει κεκραμένος. οὗτος ἀκούσας ὅτι τὰς εἰκόνας
122 W
          αὐτοῦ κατέστρεψαν 'Αθηναῖοι, "άλλ' οὐ τὴν ἀρετήν,"
          ἔφη, "δι' ἣν ἐκείνας ἀνέστησαν." ἔλεγε μὴ μικρὸν εἶναι
115 W
          μέρος τὰς ὀφρῦς · ὅλφ γοῦν ἐπισκοτῆσαι τῷ βίφ δύν-
          ασθαι. οὐ μόνον τὸν πλοῦτον ἔφη τυφλόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν 115
80/121 W
          δδηγοῦσαν αὐτὸν τύχην. ὅσον ἐν πολέμω δύνασθαι
120/160 W
          σίδηρον, τοσοῦτον ἐν πολιτείαις ἰσχύειν λόγον. ἰδών
118 W
          ποτε νεανίσκον ἄσωτον, "ίδού," ἔφη, "τετράγωνος Έρ-
          μης έχων σύρμα, κοιλίαν, αίδοῖον, πώγωνα." τῶν τετυ-
119 W
          88–9 v. 118
                      90-2 v. 81
                                  93 v. 88 94 v. 150
                                                      95–6 v. 88
                                                                 97
                98 v. 88 99–100 v. 150
                                         101 v. 88 102 v. 118
          ห. 81
                                                                103
                                                         108 v. 118:
                                105 v. 88
          и 150
                   104 v. 149
                                            106–7 v. 81
          Aesopica T74 Perry
                               109 v. 81
                                           111-19 = Ars. 187.7-18 Walz
          111–13 idem apophthegma Aristidi attribuitur in Gnom. Vat. 743, no.48
          (23.19–20 Sternbach)
                                119-23 = Ars. 188.11-15 Walz
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Ambassadorial Address, 1 book On Proof (or On Trust), 1 book On Kindness (or Grace), 1 book On Fortune, 1 book On Greatness of Soul, 1 book On Marriage, 1 book On the Beam <in the Sky>, 1 book³ On Peace, 1 book On Laws, 1 book On Pursuits, 1 book On the Right Moment, 1 book Dionysius, 1 book Chalcidian (Speech), 1 book A Denunciation of the Athenians, 1 book On Antiphanes, 1 book An Historical Preface, 1 book Letters, 1 book The Sworn Assembly, 1 book On Old Age, 1 book Matters of Justice, 1 book Aesopic Fables, 1 book Practical Maxims, 1 book

His style is philosophical with an admixture of rhetorical vigor and force. On hearing that the Athenians had taken down his statues, he said, "But not the merit on account of which they erected these." He said that the eyebrows are no small part (of the face): they can cast a shadow over the whole of one's life. He said that not only wealth is blind, but also the fortune that tells it where to go. That speech has as much force in political affairs as iron has in war. Once when he saw a profligate young man he said, "Look, a four-square herm (complete) with tail, belly, member and beard."

⁸⁸ πρεσβευτικὸς edd.: πρεσβυτ- Ω 94 δοκοῦ Ω : δόκου = δοκήσεως Menagius 104 ἐπιστολαὶ BP: -λὴ F 105 Ἐκκλησία ἔνορκος α΄ DG: ἐκκληένορχα B: ἐκκληενόρχ(ος) α΄ P: ἐκκλησία ἔνορχος FP^4 110–11 ῥητορικῆ καὶ δυνάμει κεκραμένος D: ῥητορικῆ δυνάμει κεκραμένος BP: ῥητορικῆ δυνάμει τε πεπυκνωμένος F 113 μὴ μικρὸν Ω 117 πολιτείαις BP: πολίταις F: πολιτεί Φ || λόγον $PF\Phi$: δῶρον B 119 σύρμα] στόμα B0 πολιτείοιον B1 πολιτείB1 καὶδοῖον B2 καλῆν B3 καλην B4 να B5 καλοῖον B5 καλοῖον B5 καλοῖον B6 καλοῖον B6 καλοῖον B6 καλοῖον B7 καλοῖον B8 καλοῖον B9 καλοῦν B9 καλοῖον B9 καλοῖον B9 καλοῖον B9 καλοῖον B9 καλοῦν B9 κα

117 W

οίκίας 116w 83 ἀπαντ ἐπὶ μὲν

φωμένων ἀνδρῶν ἔφη τὸ μὲν ὕψος δεῖν περιαιρεῖν, τὸ δὲ 120 φρόνημα καταλείπειν. τοὺς νέους ἔφη δεῖν ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς οἰκίας τοὺς γονέας αἰδεῖσθαι, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁδοῖς τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐρημίαις ἑαυτούς. τοὺς φίλους ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ ἀγαθὰ παρακαλουμένους ἀπιέναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτομάτους. τοσαῦτα καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἀνα- 125 φέρεσθαι δοκεῖ.

121–3 τοὺς–ἑαυτούς] cf. **72** 123–5 = Ars. 187.19–20 Walz; cf. **143**.19–22 126 sequitur tabula homonymorum (OCT 1.241.3–242.4 Long), in qua noster secundus nominatur (= Demetr. Magn. F 17 Mejer)

121 καταλείπειν $F\Phi$: καταλιπεῖν BP 122 γονέας $BF\Phi$: γονεῖς P 124 ἀπιέναι Ω : ἰέναι Φ

2 Suda s.v. Δημήτριος (no. 429, LG 1.2.40.21–41.2 Adler)

3 W

75 W

36 W

70 W

Δημήτριος, Φανοστράτου, Φαληρεύς (Φάληρον δὲ λιμὴν τῆς ᾿Αττικῆς), ὸς τὸ πρῶτον Φανὸς ἐκαλεῖτο · φιλόσοφος Περιπατητικός. γέγραφε φιλόσοφά τε καὶ ἱστορικὰ καὶ ῥητορικὰ καὶ πολιτικὰ καὶ περὶ ποιητῶν. ἠκροάσατο δὲ Θεοφράστου καὶ δημαγωγὸς ᾿Αθήνησι 5 γέγονε. συνέγραψε δὲ συχνὰ βιβλία. οὕτως ἦν δὲ σφόδρα εὐπρεπὴς ὡς καὶ διαβολὴν λαβεῖν, ὅτι γέγονεν ἐρώμενος Νέωνος, καὶ προσαγορευθῆναι ὑπό τινων αὐτὸν Λαμπετὼ καὶ Χαριτοβλέφαρον. εἰς μέγα δὲ ἀρθεὶς δόξης καὶ ἐπικρατείας ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου κατεστρατηγήθη καὶ 10 ἐξελαθεὶς ὑπὸ ᾿Αθηναίων εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἦλθε καὶ παρὰ τῷ Σωτῆρι Πτολεμαίῳ διατρίβων δηχθεὶς ὑπὸ ἀσπίδος ἀπέθανε καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ Βουσιρίτῃ νομῷ, πλησίον Διοσπόλεως τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσι.

1–14 228 T 1 FGrH 3 φιλόσοφος Περιπατηικός] cf. 1.58–9; 36.12–13; 40.1 5 ἡκροάσατο-Θεοφράστου] Thphr. no. 18.5 FHS&G | δημαγωγὸς] cf. 1.3; 62 6–9 οὕτως-Χαριτοβλέφαρος] cf. Ps.-Hsch. Mil. 19 (BT 15.18–20 Flach) 7–8 γέγονεν-Νέωνος] cf. 1.16 | Λαμπετὼ] cf. 1.18; 5.2 quae in Suda post ἕλεσι sequuntur (41.2–10 Adler) ad Demetrium Poliorcetam spectant et derivata sunt ex D.S. 19.81.3–4 (BT 5.130.5–16 Fischer) = Exc. Const. De virt. et vit. 173 (2.1.249.12–21 Büttner-Wobst); in Excerptis falso ὁ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς nominatur

Of puffed-up men he said that one should cut down their height and leave their pride alone. He said that it is fitting for the young when at home to treat their parents respectfully, in the street those they meet, and in solitary places themselves. That friends set out to (share) good times upon invitation, but to (share) calamities of their own accord. All these (sayings) seem to be attributed to him as well.⁴

- ¹ I.e., in 326/5; cp. D.S. 17.108.4–8; Ath. 13.67 594D–E.
- ² I.e, 'Zeus' Town'.
- ³ If the conjecture of Ménage is adopted, the title would be On Opinion.
- ⁴ The remainder of the *Life* has been omitted. It is a list of twenty persons who share the name 'Demetrius' (*OCT* 1.241.3-242.4 Long). Demetrius of Phalerum is listed second. The third is also a Peripatetic: Demetrius of Byzantium.

2 Suda, under Demetrius (no. 429, LG 1.2.40.21–41.2 Adler)

Demetrius, son of Phanostratus, of Phalerum (a harbour in Attica), who at first was called Phanus; ¹ a Peripatetic philosopher. He has written works of philosophy, history, rhetoric, politics, and on poets. He attended the lectures of Theophrastus and became a leader of the people at Athens. He composed a great number of books. He was so exceedingly good-looking that he was even slanderously said to have been the beloved of Neon, ² and he was addressed by some as 'Radiant' and 'Gracelid'. Elevated to a great height of fame and power, he was brought down by the stratagems of envy. Expelled by the Athenians, he went to Egypt; and while living at the court of Ptolemy the Saviour, he was bitten by an asp and died. He was buried in the district of Busiris near Diospolis³ in the marshes.⁴

¹ This clause refers to Demetrius, not to Phanostratus.

²This person is the same as the Cleon mentioned in D.L. 5.76 (= 1.16), but his identity is unknown.

³ I.e., 'Zeus' Town'.

⁴ The remainder of the entry does not concern Demetrius of Phalerum but Demetrius Poliorcetes.

⁴ ἡητορικὰ] -κὴν $V \parallel$ πολιτικὰ] -κὴν V = 8 Νέωνος] νέος ἄν I: Κλέωνος D.L. 8–9 Λαμπετὰ] Λαμπιτὰ D.L., Ath.

Asclepiades ap. Athenaeum, *Deipnosophistae* 13.21 567C–D (BT 3.250.22–4; 250.26–251.4 Kaibel)

καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλά, ὧναιδές, δράματα ἀπὸ ἑταιρῶν Ε΄ ἔσχε τὰς ἐπιγραφάς, ... Εὐβούλου Κλεψύδρα. οὕτω δ΄ ἐκλήθη αὕτη ἡ ἑταίρα, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς κλεψύδραν συνουσίαζεν ἕως κενωθῆ, ὡς ᾿Ασκληπιάδης εἴρηκεν ὁ τοῦ ᾿Αρείου ἐν τῷ περὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως συγγράμματι, τὸ κύριον αὐτῆς ὄνομα φάσκων εἶναι Μητίχην.

1-6 Asklepiades Areiu 157 F 1 FGrH; Eubulus F 54 PCG K.-A.; Eubulus F 54a Hunter

1 έταιρῶν Musurus: έτέρων Α 4 κενωθείη Meineke

Vita Privata

Origo

4 Aelianus, Varia historia 12.43 (BT 143.14–18 Dilts)

Φωκίων δὲ ὁ Χρηστὸς ἐπικληθεὶς πατρὸς μὲν δοίδυκας ἐργαζομένου ἦν, Δημήτριον δὲ τὸν Φαληρέα οἰκότριβα γενέσθαι λέγουσιν ἐκτῆς οἰκίας τῆς Τιμοθέου καὶ Κόνωνος.

1 Plu. Phoc. 4.1 2-4 Δημήτριον-Κόνωνος] cf. **1**.12-13; FGrH II b 642 ad 228 T 1

Forma

Diyllus ap. Athenaeum, *Deipnosophistae* 13.65 593E-F (BT 3.308.22-309.2 Kaibel)

37 w Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Φαληρεὺς Λαμπιτοῦς τῆς Σαμίας ἐταίρας ἐρασθεὶς ἡδέως δι' αὐτὴν καὶ Λαμπιτὼ προση-F γορεύετο, ώς φησι Δίυλλος· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Χαριτοβλέφαρος...

1-4 Diyllus 73 F 4 FGrH; cf. Did. F 5 Schmidt p. 374; Ath. Epit. (2.2.119.9 Peppink) habet ὅτι Λαμπιτὼ ἡ Δ. τοῦ Φ. ἑταίρα Χαριτοβλέφαρος ἐκαλεῖτο; cf. 1.17-18; 2.8-9; 43A.24

de capite 65 v. Kaibel p. 308 $2 \delta \iota$ αὐτὴν Jacobs: δ' αὐτὴν (notato \rightarrow

3 Asclepiades in Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 13.21 567C–D (*BT* 3.250.22–4; 250.26–251.4 Kaibel)

Many other dramas also got their title from courtesans, you impudent one, (such as) ... Klepsydra by Eubulus. This last courtesan got this name, because she timed her sexual services on the waterclock (and made them last) until it had run out; Asclepiades, the son of Areius, said this in his monograph on Demetrius of Phalerum, saying that her real name was Metiche.

- ¹ The Cynic Cynulcus is addressing the grammarian Myrtilus.
- ² Poet of the Middle Comedy, c. 380-c. 335.
- ³ Nothing further is known about this Asclepiades. He may have been a contemporary of Demetrius (Jacoby *FGrH* II b 587).

Private Life

Parentage

4 Aelian, Miscellaneous History 12.43 (BT 143.14–18 Dilts)

Phocion, surnamed the Good, was (the son) of a father who made pestles, and they say that Demetrius of Phalerum was born as a slave of the house of Timotheus and of Conon.¹

¹ In 12.43 Aelian lists instances of men rising from humble origins to high positions, including a number of Persian kings and Macedonian rulers; then Themistocles, and after Phocion and Demetrius of Phalerum, Hyperbolus, Cleophon, Demades and a number of Spartans.

Outward Appearance

Diyllus in Athenaeus, Sophists at Dinner 13.65 593E-F (BT 3.308.22-309.2 Kaibel)

Demetrius of Phalerum fell in love with the Samian courtesan Lampito according to Diyllus, he was pleased to be called 'Radiant' because of her. He was also called 'Gracelid' ... ¹

¹ The epitomist understands the Greek text to mean that Lampito was called 'Gracelid'.

Uxor

Diogenianus ap. Georgium Choeroboscum, *Orthographia* (An.Ox. 2.239.13–15 Cramer)

39 Ν Λοίμια: ὄνομα κύριον, γέγονεν δὲ ἡ γυνὴ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαλήρεως · ἔστιν δὲ καὶ προσηγορικόν, τὰ χάσματα · οὕτω Διογενιανός.

1 cf. FGrH II b 642 ad 228 T 1; 1.14-15; 5

de Himeraeo, Demetrii fratre, vide 13A-B

Demetrius, Demetrii progenies

*7 Hegesander ap. Athenaeum, *Deipnosophistae* 4.64 167D–F (BT 1.377.14–378.3 Kaibel)

"εἰς τοσοῦτον δ' ἀσωτίας ἐληλύθει καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως ἀπόγονος, ὡς φησιν Ἡγήσαν-δρος, ὡστε ᾿Αρισταγόραν μὲν ἔχειν τὴν Κορινθίαν ἐρωμένην, ζῆν δὲ πολυτελῶς. ἀνακαλεσαμένων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν ᾿Αρεοπαγιτῶν καὶ κελευόντων βέλτιον ζῆν, 'ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν,' εἶπεν, 'ἐλευθερίως ζῶ. καὶ γὰρ ἑταίραν ἔχω τὴν καλλίστην καὶ ἀδικῶ οὐδένα καὶ πίνω Χῖον οἶνον καὶ τἄλλ' ἀρκούντως παρασκευάζομαι, τῶν ἰδίων μου προσόδων εἰς ταῦτα ἐκποιουσῶν, οὐ καθάπερ ὑμῶν ἔνιοι δεκαζόμενος ζῶ καὶ μοιχεύων.' καὶ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα πραττόντων καὶ ἐπ' ὀνόματός τινας κατέλεξε. ταῦτα δ' ἀκούσας ᾿Αντίγονος ὁ βασιλεὺς θεσμοθέτην αὐτὸν κατέστησεν. τοῖς δὲ Παναθηναίοις ἵππαρχος ὢν ἰκρίον ἔστησε πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς ᾿Αρισταγόρα μετεωρότερον τῶν Ἑρμῶν, Ἐλευσῖνί τε μυστηρίων ὄντων ἔθηκεν αὐτῆ

Wife

Diogenianus in Georgius Choeroboscus, Orthography (An.Ox. 2.239.13–15 Cramer)

Loimia: proper name; she was the wife of Demetrius of Phalerum; it is also an appellative: gaping mouth. Thus Diogenianus.¹

¹ This is an entry in a list of orthographical problems. Loimia appears to be the same as the Lamia mentioned as the hetaera of Demetrius by Favorinus in D.L. 5.76 = 1.14-15.

on Himeraeus, brother of Demetrius, see 13A-B

Demetrius, Grandson of Demetrius

*7 Hegesander in Athenaeus, Sophists at Dinner 4.64 167D-F (BT 1.377.14-378.3 Kaibel)

"Demetrius too, the descendant of Demetrius of Phalerum,¹ went to such lengths in profligacy," as Hegesander says, "as to keep Aristagora from Corinth as his lover, and live on a grand scale. When the members of the Court of the Areopagus summoned him and told him to lead a better life, he said, 'But, as it is I am living in the style of a freeborn man. For as mistress I have the most beautiful woman, I do not harm anyone, I drink wine from Chius, and in other repects too I live within my means, my private income being quite enough for these things, without living, as some of you do, by letting myself be bribed and being an adulterer.' And he in fact mentioned some who acted in such a way by name. When King Antigonus² heard this, he made him lawgiver. As Commander of the Cavalry during the Panathenaic Festival he raised for Aristagora near the Herms a platform higher than these Herms, and during the Eleusinian Mysteries he placed a throne

θρόνον παρὰ τὸ ἀνάκτορον, οἰμώξεσθαι φήσας τοὺς 15 κωλύσοντας."

1–17 Hegesand. F 8 FHG IV 415; Ath. Epit. (2.1.55.20–30 Peppink) [= EC]; breviter Eust. Od. 5.252 (1.213.1–3 Stallbaum) 5 'Αρεοπαγιτῶν] cf. **153**.22 13–17 Agora III no. 302

Discipulus et socius Theophrasti & Commilitones

- Loci in hoc volumine exscripti, in quibus Demetrius Phalereus vel discipulus vel auditor vel socius Theophrasti nominatur
 - 1 Philodemus, *De Rhetorica*, *PHerc*. 453, fr. 4.10–13 = **131B**.10–13
 - 2 Cicero, De Legibus 3.6.14 = 57.12-16
 - 3 Cicero, Brutus 9.37 = 121.4-6
 - 4 Cicero, *De Finibus* 5.19.54 = 36.10
 - 5 Cicero, *De Officiis* 1.1.3 = 119.10-11
 - 6 Strabo, Geographica 9.1.20 = 19.9-10
 - 7 Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae Philosophorum* 5.75 = 1.1-2
 - 8 Suda s.v. Δημήτριος = 2.5 et cf.
 - 9 Plutarchus, De tuenda sanitate praecepta 24 135C = 67.4-5
 - 10 Ioannes Tzetzes, *Epistulae* 61 = 69.5-6
 - cf. **9A–11** et Theophrastus no. 18.5 FHS&G
 - de Xenocrate Academico philosopho vide 49
- Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *De Dinarcho* 2.2 (CB 5.124.9–12 Aujac)
- 4w Δείναρχος ὁ ἡτωρ υἱὸς μὲν ἦν Σωστράτου, Κορίνθιος δὲ τὸ γένος, ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς 'Αθήνας, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἤνθουν αἵ τε τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ ἡητόρων διατριβαί, Θεοφράστω τε συνεγένετο καὶ Δημητρίω τῷ Φαληρεῖ.
 - 1-4 Dinarchus T I.1 (BT 1.1-5 Conomis); Thphr. no. 18.7 FHS&G

⁴ ἐρωμένην] ἑταίραν EC 14 'Αρισταγόρα] 'Αρισταγόρας EC 16 οἰμώξεσθαι C: οἰμώζεσθαι AE

for her next to the Holy of Holies, with the warning that anyone who tried to stop him would live to regret it."

- ¹ Among a number of instances of profligate living, Athenaeus has Ulpian cite Demetrius, grandson of Demetrius of Phalerum; cp. **162**.
- ² Antigonus Gonatas, son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who captured Athens in 262.

Student and Associate of Theophrastus & Fellow Students

- Passages Printed in This Volume, in which Demetrius of Phalerum is Named as the Disciple or Pupil or Associate of Theophrastus
 - 1 Philodemus, On Rhetoric, PHerc. 453, fr. 4.10-13 = 131B. 10-13
 - 2 Cicero, On Laws 3.6.14 = 57.12-16
 - 3 Cicero, *Brutus* 9.37 = 121.4-6
 - 4 Cicero, $On\ Ends\ 5.19.54 = 36.10$
 - 5 Cicero, On Duties 1.1.3 = 119.10-11
 - 6 Strabo, Geography 9.1.20 = 19.9-10
 - 7 Diogenes Laertius, The Lives of the Philosophers 5.75 = 1.1-2
 - 8 Suda, on Demetrius = 2.5 and cp.
 - 9 Plutarch, Rules for Preserving Health 24 135C = 67.4-5
 - 10 Johannes Tzetzes, Letters 61 = 69.5-6
 - cp. **9A–11** and Theophrastus no. 18.5 FHS&G

on Xenocrates, philosopher of the Academy, see 49

9A Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Dinarchus* 2.2 (*CB* 5.124.9–12 Aujac)

The orator Dinarchus was a son of Sostratus and a Corinthian by birth. Having arrived in Athens at the time when the schools of the philosophers and of the orators flourished, he fell in with Theophrastus and Demetrius of Phalerum.¹

¹ In On Dinarchus 4, Dionysius puts Dinarchus' birth in 361/360, and the beginning of his career as a logographos in 336/5.

9B [Plutarchus], Vitae Decem Oratorum 850B-C (BT 5.2.1. 43.11-17 Mau)

Δείναρχος Σωκράτους ἢ Σωστράτου, ὡς μέν τινες ἐγχώριος, ὡς δέ τισι δοκεῖ Κορίνθιος, ἀφικόμενος εἰς ᾿Αθήνας ἔτι νέος, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ᾿Αλέξανδρος ἐπῃει τὴν ᾿Ασίαν, κατοικήσας αὐτόθι ἀκροατὴς μὲν ἐγένετο Θεοφράστου τοῦ διαδεξαμένου τὴν ᾿Αριστοτέλους διατριβήν, ὡμίλησε δὲ καὶ Δημητρίφ τῷ Φαληρεῖ.

1-6 Din. T 1.2 (BT 2.19-3.4 Conomis); Caec. Cal. F 149 Ofenloch (BT 128.1-7); Thphr. no. 18.7 FHS&G; Phot. Bibl. 267 496b8-13 (CB 8.72.24-9 Henry)

Diogenes Laertius, Vitae Philosophorum 5.39 (OCT 1.216.7—9 Long)

5w λέγεται δ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἴδιον κῆπον σχεῖν μετὰ τὴν 'Αριστοτέλους τελευτήν, Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως, ὃς ἦν καὶ γνώριμος αὐτῷ, τοῦτο συμπράξαντος.

1–3 Thphr. no. 1.38–40 et no. 18.5 FHS&G; cf. FGrH II b 642 ad 228 T 1

Themistius, *Orationes* 21 252b (BT 2.31.4–7 Downey-Norman)

ποίαν ἤνεγκας λοιδορίαν, οἵαν Σωκράτης τὴν Θρασυμάχου; πότε διεώσω χάριτας ἐμμίσθους ἀρχόντων, ώσπερ Θεόφραστος τὰς παρὰ τοῦ Φαληρέως; ἀλλὰ τοῦτων μὲν οὐδέν, ἡδονῶν δὲ ὑπερφρονεῖς οὐδὲ ἐπρίω πόρνας...;

1–2 Pl. R. 337A3–7 1–3 Thphr. no. 29 FHS&G 2–3 ἀρχόντων] cf. **23A–E**

5

^{3–4} ἐπἡει τὴν 'Ασίαν] ἐπἡει τ. 'A. $A^{pc}E$ Xylander Ofenloch: ἐπὶ τ. 'A. $αA^{ac}$: ἐπὶ τ. 'A. ⟨ἐστρατεύετο⟩ Zucker Mau, ⟨διέβαινε⟩ (⟨διέβη⟩ Reiske) Wytten-bach Conomis ex Phot.

² διεώσω w marg.: διεσώσω codd. \parallel ἐμμίσθους \rfloor ἐμμίσθου a: ἀμίσθου a^c : ἀμίσθους a^2

9B [Plutarch], Lives of the Ten Orators 850B-C (BT 5.2.1.43.11-17 Mau)

Dinarchus, (a son) of Socrates or Sostratus, was according to some a native (of Athens) and according to others a Corinthian, who came to Athens while still young, at the time when Alexander marched against Asia. After settling there he regularly attended the lectures of Theophrastus, who had taken over the school of Aristotle, and he also associated with Demetrius of Phalerum.¹

¹ Alexander's Asian campaign started in 334. Cp. **9A** note 1.

Diogenes Laertius, The Lives of the Philosophers 5.39 (OCT 1.216.7–9 Long)

It is said that after Aristotle's death¹ he (Theophrastus) even acquired a garden of his own. Demetrius of Phalerum, with whom he was also on familiar terms, helped him accomplish this.²

11 Themistius, Orations 21 252b (BT 2.31.4–7 Downey-Norman)

What sort of abuse have you had to endure, such as Socrates had to endure from Thrasymachus? When did you reject the financial favours of the archons, as Theophrastus did those from the Phalerean? None of these (apply to you, you say,) and you despise sensual pleasures and never bought a whore ...?¹

¹ Themistius addresses the would-be philosopher. Besides Socrates and Theophrastus, he cites the instance of Xenocrates, who refused an offer of fifty talents made by Alexander. In Pl. R. 337A Thrasymachus attacks Socrates because of what he thinks is Socrates' usual intentional deceitfulness (*eirôneia*).

¹ In 322.

² Demetrius probably enabled him, a metic, to acquire a piece of landed property.

Vita Publica

cf. SEG 27.1194, 28-9 = 151

Legatio ad Craterum a. 322

12 Demetrius, De elocutione 289 (BT 59.4–12 Radermacher)

7 W 183 W

πολλάκις δὲ ἢ πρὸς τύραννον ἢ ἄλλως βίαιόν τινα διαλεγόμενοι καὶ ὀνειδίσαι ὁρμῶντες χρήζομεν ἐξ άνάγκης σχήματος λόγου, ώς Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς πρός Κρατερόν τὸν Μακεδόνα ἐπὶ χρυσῆς κλίνης καθεζόμενον μετέωρον, καὶ ἐν πορφυρῷ χλανίδι, καὶ 5 ύπερηφάνως ἀποδεχόμενον τὰς πρεσβείας τῶν Ἑλλήνων, σχηματίσας εἶπεν ὀνειδιστικῶς, ὅτι "ὑπεδεξάμεθά ποτε πρεσβεύοντας ήμεῖς τούσδε καὶ Κρατερὸν τοῦτον". έν γὰρ τῷ δεικτικῷ τῷ 'τοῦτον' ἐμφαίνεται ⟨ἡ⟩ ὑπερηφανία τοῦ Κρατεροῦ πᾶσα ἀνειδισμένη ἐν σχήματι.

1-10 Greg. Cor. in Hermog. Meth. VIII 71 (RhG 7.2.1180.11-20 Walz); cf. 131A-C 1-3 cf. Greg. Cor. in Hermog. Meth. VIII 70 (RhG 7.2.1179.2-4 Walz)

10

Himeraeus, Demetrii frater, occisus a. 322

*13A Arrianus ap. Photium, Bibliotheca, 92 69b34-40 (CB 2.22.30–23.5 Henry)

> έν δὲ τῷ ἕκτῷ διαλαμβάνει ὅπως ἐξ ᾿Αθηνῶν οἱ ἀμφὶ Δημοσθένην καὶ Ύπερείδην ἔφυγον, 'Αριστόνικός τε ὁ Μαραθώνιος καὶ Ἱμεραῖος ὁ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως άδελφός, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα εἰς Αἴγιναν · ἐκεῖ δὲ διαγόντων

¹ βίαιόν] σκαιόν Greg. 71 3 σχήματος] ἐπικρύψεως σχήματος Greg. 71 || λόγου Finckh: ὅλου P Greg. 71 || ση τί τὸ λεγόμενον ποῖος (ποι) Δημήτριος καὶ τίς ὁ τάδε γράφων (γράφον) P mg. πρεσβεύοντας ἡμεῖς] καὶ ἡμεῖς πρεσβεύοντα Greg. 71 | τούσδε cod. m.: τόνδε P Greg. 71 9 τ $\hat{\varphi}$] τὸ P 9–10 ἐμφαίνεται—σχήματι] πασα ή τοῦ Κρ. ὑπ. ἀνειδισμένη (ἀνειδισαμένη Vind.) ἐπίκρυψιν έμφ. Greg. 71 9 ή accessit ex Greg. 71

Public Life

cp. SEG 27.1194, 28-9 = 151

Embassy to Craterus 322 B.C.

12 Demetrius, On Style 289 (BT 59.4–12 Radermacher)

When we address a tyrant or an otherwise powerful person and feel the urge to rebuke him, we are often forced by the circumstances to have recourse to a figure of speech. An example is Demetrius of Phalerum addressing the Macedonian Craterus. When the latter was receiving the embassies of the Greeks with insolent arrogance, sitting on a golden couch high above everyone else and clad in a purple robe, (Demetrius) said to him, using a figure of speech to convey a reproach, that "we too once received as ambassadors these men and this Craterus." In the demonstrative 'this' all the insolence of Craterus stands implicitly rebuked through the use of a figure.¹

¹ After the battle of Crannon in 322, the Athenians sent negotiators to Antipater and Craterus to sue for peace (Plu. *Phoc.* 26–7; D.S. 18.17–18). Of these Demades, Phocion and Xenocrates (cp. **131A–C**) are mentioned by name. Demetrius is not mentioned elsewhere.

Himeraeus, Brother of Demetrius, Killed in 322 B.C.

*13A Arrianus in Photius, *Library* 92 69b34–40 (*CB* 2.22.30–23.5 Henry)

In the sixth book he (Flavius Arrianus) sets out in detail how the partisans of Demosthenes and Hyperides fled from Athens:¹ Aristonicus of Marathon and Himeraeus the brother of Demetrius of Phalerum. At first (they fled) to Aegina, and while they were

θάνατον αὐτῶν κατέγνω τὸ ᾿Αθηναίων πλῆθος εἰπόντος Δημάδου, καὶ ᾿Αντίπατρος εἰς ἔργον ἤγαγε τὸ ψήφισμα.

1–6 Arr. 156 F 9,13 FGrH (II B 842.34–843.4 Jacoby) = Arr. Hist. succ. Alex. F 1,13 (BT 2.259.10–16 Roos-Wirth); cf. **43A**.28–9 de Himeraeo cf. IG II² 410,18; Din. F XIV 1–3 Conomis (= D.H. Din. 10.14; Harp. α 92; v 19); [Lucian.] Dem. Enc. 31; Arr. Hist. succ. Alex. 22 = Suda α 2703 = Arr. 156 F 176a FGrH; [Plu.] Vitae X or. 846A–C = Phot. Bibl. 265 494a23–b2; Ibn Abi Usaibia, 'Uyun al-anba fi tabaqat al-atibba' 20–1 (p. 216 Düring)

Plutarchus, Demosthenes 28.4 (BT 1.2.308.22–8 Ziegler)

οὖτος οὖν ὁ ᾿Αρχίας Ὑπερείδην μὲν τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ ᾿Αριστόνικον τὸν Μαραθώνιον καὶ τὸν Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως ἀδελφὸν Ἡμεραῖον, ἐν Αἰγίνη καταφυγόντας ἐπὶ τὸ Αἰάκειον, ἔπεμψεν ἀποσπάσας εἰς Κλεωνὰς πρὸς ᾿Αντίπατρον, κἀκεῖ διεφθάρησαν · Ὑπερείδου δὲ καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν ἐκτμηθῆναι ζῶντος λέγουσι.

6 ζῶντος om. Υ

Illustris habetur a. 320

Hieronymus, *Interpretatio Chronicorum Eusebii* ad Ol. 115,1 (GCS 24 [Eusebius 7] p. 126.2–3 Helm)

1 w Alexandrinorum Romanorum Primus Macedonum Primus a.Chr.
Syriae Asiae

CXV Olymp V

Demetrius Falereus V 320 habetur inlustris

5 habetur inlustris] cf. 20B.1 et 1.22; 2.9; 16B; 17.8; 29.31; 42.7; 43A.31—2; 58A.4; 64.5—6; cf. in quarto anno CXIV Olympiadis Theofrastus philosophus agnoscitur, qui diuinitate loquendi, ut ait Cicero, nomen accepit (= Thphr. app. no. 5B FHS&G); et in CXVI Olympiadi Menedemus et Speusippus philosophi insignes habentur

staying there, the Athenian popular assembly sentenced them to death on the proposal of Demades, and Antipater carried out the decree.

¹ Antipater had stipulated that Demosthenes, Hyperides and their partisans would be handed over to him (Plu. *Phoc.* 27.5). Archias was sent off to round up the fugitives (Plu. *Dem* 28.3).

13B Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 28.4 (*BT* 1.2.308.22–8 Ziegler)

When the orator Hyperides, Aristonicus of Marathon, and the brother of Demetrius of Phalerum, Himeraeus, had taken refuge in the sanctuary of Aeacus on Aegina, this Archias¹ dragged them away (from this place) and sent them to Antipater at Cleonae. There they were killed; it is said that Hyperides also had his tongue cut out while alive.

¹ On this Archias see Plu. Dem. 28.3 = 164.

Held in Great Renown 320 B.C.

Hieronymus, Translation of Eusebius' Chronological Canons Ol. 115,1 (GCS 24 [Eusebius 7] p. 126.2–3 Helm)

Demetrius of Phalerum is honored as a man of great distinction.¹

¹The entry is put in the first year of the 115th Olympiad, 320/19; in the fifth year of the reign both of Ptolemy I in Egypt and of Philip III Arrhidaeus in Macedonia.

Capitis damnatus a. 318

15A Plutarchus, *Phocion* 35.4–5 (BT 2.1.29.26–30.3 Ziegler)

10w 4 ἐπικυρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ ψηφίσματος καὶ τῆς χειροτονίας ἀποδοθείσης, οὐδεὶς καθήμενος, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐξαναστάντες, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι καὶ στεφανωσάμενοι, κατεχειροτόνησαν αὐτῶν θάνατον. ἦσαν δὲ σὺν τῷ Φωκίωνι Νικοκλῆς Θούδιππος Ἡγήμων Πυθοκλῆς Δημητρίου δὲ τοῦ Φαληρέως καὶ Καλλιμέδοντος καὶ Χαρικλέους καί τινων ἄλλων ἀπόντων κατεψηφίσθη θάνατος.

6-8 228 T 2b FGrH; de Demetrio et Nicanore v. 43A.27-32

15B Nepos, *Phocion* 3.1–2 (BT 73.4–10 Marshall)

1 erant eo tempore Athenis duae factiones, quarum una populi causam agebat, altera optimatium. in hac erat Phocion et Demetrius Phalereus. harum utraque Macedonum patrociniis utebatur: nam populares Polyperchonti fauebant, optimates cum Cassandro sentiebant. interim a Polyperchonte Cassandrus Macedonia pulsus est. quo facto populus superior factus statim duces aduersariae factionis capitis damnatos patria propulit, in his Phocionem et Demetrium Phalereum.

Epimeletes a. 317

Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* 18.74.1–3 (BT 4.424.21–425.13 Fischer)

'Αθηναίων δὲ μὴ δυναμένων ἀποτρίψασθαι τὴν φρουρὰν μήτε διὰ τοῦ Πολυπέρχοντος μήτε δι' 'Ολυμπιάδος ἀπετόλμησέ τις τῶν ἐπαινουμένων πολιτῶν εἰπεῖν

⁵ Ἡγήμων] ἡγήμων PQ: ἡγεμὼν Λ om. Z 7 ἀπόντων] ἀπάντων QZ

Sentenced to Death 318 B.C.

15A Plutarch, *Phocion* 35.4–5 (*BT* 2.1.29.26–30.3 Ziegler)

- When the decree had been ratified and the vote (by raising of hands) was taken, nobody remained seated, but all rose from their seats—most of them even put on garlands—and sentenced them
- to death. With Phocion (these) were Nicocles, Thudippus, Hegemon and Pythocles. Demetrius of Phalerum, Callimedon, Charicles and some others were sentenced to death while absent.

After the death of Antipater in 319 Athens became embroiled in the conflict between Cassander and Polyperchon. In 318 Phocion advised Alexander, son of Polyperchon, to open negotiations, without consulting the Athenians, with Nicanor, who was holding Munychia and the Piraeus for Cassander. This led to a decree, that the people should vote on the question whether Phocion and his partisans were guilty of 'treason' or not, and that if they were, they should die (Plu. *Phoc.* 34.9; D.S. 18.66.4–67.3).

15B Nepos, *Phocion* 3.1–2 (*BT* 73.4–10 Marshall)

- At that time there were two parties in Athens. One of them favoured the cause of the people, the other that of the aristocrats. Phocion and Demetrius of Phalerum belonged to the latter. Both parties enjoyed Macedonian protection: for the popular party supported Polyperchon and the aristocrats sympathized with Cassander. In the meantime Cassander was expelled from
- Macedonia by Polyperchon, and this caused the people to get the upper hand. They at once sentenced the leaders of the opposite party to death and expelled them from the fatherland. Phocion and Demetrius of Phalerum were among them.

Epimeletes 317 B.C.

16A Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History* 18.74.1–3 (*BT* 4.424.21–425.13 Fischer)

When the Athenians could not get rid of the garrison by the aid of either Polyperchon or Olympias, one of the esteemed citizens ventured to say in the assembly that it would be expedient to come

¹Cp. D.S. 18.54.2–3.

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13 W

12 W

έν ἐκκλησία διότι συμφέρει πρὸς Κάσανδρον διαλύ-2 σασθαι. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐγένετο θόρυβος, τῶν μὲν άντιλεγόντων, τῶν δὲ συγκατατιθεμένων τοῖς λόγοις · ὡς δὲ ἀνεθεωρήθη τὸ συμφέρον, ἔδοξε τοῖς πᾶσι πρεσβεύειν πρὸς Κάσανδρον καὶ τίθεσθαι τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς αν ή δυνατόν. γενομένων δὲ πλειόνων ἐντεύξεων συνέθεντο τὴν εἰρήνην ὥστε τοὺς ᾿Αθηναίους ἔχειν πόλιν τε καὶ χώραν καὶ προσόδους καὶ ναῦς καὶ τἄλλα πάντα φίλους ὄντας καὶ συμμάχους Κασάνδρου, τὴν δὲ Μουνυχίαν κατά τὸ παρὸν κρατεῖν Κάσανδρον, ἕως ἂν διαπολεμήση πρός τους βασιλείς, και το πολίτευμα διοικείσθαι ἀπὸ τιμήσεων ἄχρι μνῶν δέκα, καταστῆσαι δ' ἐπιμελητὴν τῆς πόλεως ἕνα ἄνδρα 'Αθηναῖον ὃν ἂν δόξη Κασάνδρω· καὶ ἡρέθη Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς. ούτος δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς πόλεως ἦρχεν είρηνικώς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας φιλανθρώπως.

10–12 et 15–19 228 T 3a FGrH 15–17 καταστῆσαι—Φαληρεύς] cf. 1.3–4; 2.5–6; 16B; 17.7–8; 18.3–5; 19.8–11; 22.5–6; 23E.7; 27.4–5; 28.6; 29.3–4; 30.11–12; 25–6; 36.10; 40.1–3; 42.5–7; 43A.31–2; 44.2–3; 15; 54.4; 56.7–8; 89.16–17 18 ἐπιμελητὴν τῆς πόλεως] cf. 30.12 18–19 οὖτος—φιλανθρώπως] cf. 1.10–11; 16B; 19.10–11; 24B.1; 29.27; 31–2; 40.1–2; 42.5–6

15 μνῶν] μηνῶν F 16–17 'Αθηναῖον—Κασάνδρω] *om.* F

16B Inscriptiones Graecae II² 1201

[θ] ε ο ί.
['Αριστοκ]ράτης 'Αριστοφάνου εἶπεν · ἐπειδ[ὴ Δημήτρ]ιος Φανοστράτου Φαληρεὺς ἀνήρ
[ἐστιν ἀγ]αθὸς περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν 'Αθηναίω[ν καὶ τὸν δ]ῆμον τὸν Αἰξωνέων καὶ πολέμ[ου]
[γενομένο]υ ἐν τῆι χώραι καὶ χωρισθέντ[ων τ][οῦ Πειραιὧ]ς καὶ τοῦ ἄστεως διὰ τὸν [πόλεμ][ον πρεσβεύσ]ας διέλυσε 'Αθηναίου[ς καὶ πά][λιν ἐπανήγα]γεν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ εἰ[ρήνην π]-

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- to terms with Cassander. At first this caused an uproar, with some people protesting and others agreeing with the proposal. But after a careful examination of what would be expedient, it was unanimously decided to send an embassy to Cassander and arrange matters with him in such a way as circumstances would allow. After several encounters they concluded peace on the following terms: the Athenians were to retain their city and territory and their revenues and ships and everything else, as friends and allies of Cassander; for the time being Munychia was to remain under the control of Cassander until he ended the war against the kings;² the government was to be managed on the basis of property qualifications of up to (a minimum of) ten minae,3 and they were to appoint as overseer of the city one Athenian, who had the approval of Cassander. Demetrius of Phalerum was elected. He assumed the supervision of the city and ruled in a peaceful and—in relation to the citizens—caring way.
 - ¹Nicanor still occupied Munychia, although Olympias had ordered him to return it to the Athenians (D.S. 18.65.1–2); Cassander held the Piraeus (68.1). Polyperchon tried to take the Piraeus but was forced to depart himself, leaving his son Alexander in Attica (68.2–3). Cassander sent Nicanor to the Hellespont, where Polyperchon's fleet was defeated by Nicanor and Antigonus (72.3–9); this weakened Polyperchon's position.
 - ²I.e., the other Diadochi.
 - ³I.e., 1,000 drachmae.
 - ⁴The office of *epimeletes* was an elected office in democratic Athens, but in the context of the Macedonian rulers it had distinctly military overtones in the sense of a military commander of a garrison in occupied territory (e.g., D.S. 19.64.1; 20.4.1; 18.55.1).
 - ⁵On the 'election' see Habicht Athen 62⁴³ and Tracy ADT 46 with note 58.

16B Inscriptiones Graecae II² 1201

Gods

Aristocrates, son of Aristophanes, made the proposal: since Demetrius, son of Phanostratus, of Phalerum is a man who has benefited the people of the Athenians and the deme of Aixone; and, when war broke out in the country and the Piraeus became separated from the city due to the war, he acted as an ambassador, reconciling the Athenians and again bringing them back to the

14 W

[αρεσκεύασε 'Α]θηναίοις καὶ τεῖ χώ[ραι καὶ]
[....αί]ρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμο[υ τοῦ 'Αθ][ηναίων νόμου]ς ἔθ[η]κεν καλ[οὺ]ς [καὶ συμφέρ][οντας τεῖ πόλε]ι · ὕστερον [δὲ]

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'DECRETUM AEXONENSIUM IN HONOREM DEMETRII PHALEREI. In loco antiqui demi Aixone, nunc in museo nat. Tabula aetomate superata a. 0,22, l. 0,29, cr. 0,06.' Kirchner || stoichedon 33 nisi l. 6 et fort. l. 11 (v. infra) || edd. Koehler IG II 584; Kirchner IG II² 1201 (addenda p. 672); Dittenberger Syll.³ 318; Dow & Travis, Hesperia 12 (1943) 149–50; cf. SEG 28 (1978) 101; 29 (1979) 130; de hoc titulo v. Wilhelm, GGA 160 (1898) 223; 165 (1903) 784; Keil, EIPHNH 71¹; Dow & Travis, Hesperia 12 (1943) 149–56; Bayer DPhA 17–20; De Sanctis, Scritti Minori I 2596; Habicht Athen 64; Tracy ADT 43–6 2–5 cf. e.g. IG II² 1214,1–4 (a. 300–250) 3 Φανοστράτου] v. ad 1.2 9 cf. SEG 25.89,30–1 (a. 282/1) 12 [νόμους] ἔθ[η]κεν] cf. 20A.2 12–13 cf. SEG 25.112,15–16 (a. 196/5) et IG II² 834,22 (paullo post a. 229)

2 ['Αριστοκ]ράτης Koehler ex IG II² 1202,6 (a. 313/2) 3, 4, 5, 6 Koehler 6 versus 34 litteras habet: in χωρισθέντ[ων] litterae PIΣ idem spatium occupant quod litterae AI in versu superiore 7 in. Koehler 7 fin., 8 in. Dittenberger coll. 16A.7–8: [πόλεμΙον εἰς μερίδ]ας, Koehler 8 fin., 9 in. Koehler 9 εἰ[ρήνην] Wilhelm 1898, 223 9 fin., 10 in. Keil, ΕΙΡΗΝΗ 71¹: εἰ[ρήνην κΙατεστήσατο 'A]θηναίοις Wilhelm 1898, 223: σ[ῖτον εἰσ|ήγαγεν τοῖς 'A]θηναίοις Koehler 10 fin. Koehler 11 [ἐπιμελητὴς αὶ]ρεθεὶς Wilhelm 1903, 784 ('iudicans v. 11 πι in voce ἐπιμελητής in uno spatio exaratum fuisse' Kirchner; cf. ad 6) coll. 16A.15–17 et 30.12: [ἐπιστάτης αὶ]ρε-

Decennium a. 317–307

de decennio cf. 1.3-4; 19.4-5; 30.25-6; 23A et 26; praeterea cf. 1.10-12; 2.5-6; 22.5-6; 23E.7; 27.4-5; 28.6; 29.3-4; 30.11-12; 36.10; 40.1-2; 42.5-7; 44.2-3; 54.4; 56.7-8; de administratione aerarii cf. 43A.4-5; 43B.4-5; 89.16-21

Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio* 1.25.6 (BT 1.56.31–57.8 Rocha–Pereira)

'Αντιπάτρου δὲ ἀποθανόντος 'Ολυμπιὰς διαβᾶσα ἐξ 'Ηπείρου χρόνον μέν τινα ἦρξεν ἀποκτείνασα 'Αριδαῖον, οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον ἐκπολιορκηθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου παρεδόθη τῷ πλήθει. Κάσσανδρος δὲ βασιλεύσας—τὰ δὲ ἐπ' 'Αθηναίους ἐπέξεισί μοι μόνα ὁ 5 former condition of unity and effecting peace for the Athenians and their country; and having been elected² by the people of the Athenians, he made laws which are fine and beneficial to the city;³ and later ...⁴

¹ Aixone is a coastal deme of the phyle Cecropis on the West coast of Attica; starting from the Piraeus, it is the second deme after Phalerum (Str. 9.1.21).

²The inscription is 'monospaced' (*stoichedon*) and for the title to be supplied in l. 11 a word of 9 letters is needed. For the suggested supplements see Dow and Travis, *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 149–56. Serious candidates are *epimeletes* (on the assumption that the stonecutter crowded in the I as he did in l. 6; see Tracy *ADT* 45–6); *strategos* (see Habicht *Athen* 64⁴⁸); *nomothetes* (Dow and Travis 153–6). What appeared to be an important piece of evidence in support of *strategos*, *IG* II² 2971, no longer counts as such, for Tracy has shown that this inscription applies to Demetrius' grandson and not to Demetrius himself (see **162**). The date of the decree is uncertain (cp. **20A**). The proposer of the decree himself, Aristocrates, is honored in a decree of 313/2 (*IG* II² 1202,6).

³ The text referring to the laws in ll. 12–13 is based upon (not improbable) supplements by Wilhelm; cp. **20A**.

⁴According to Dow & Travis 150¹⁷ the stele had "as many as 20 more lines of text."

θεὶς Koehler coll. **19**.8–9: προστάτην dubitanter Koehler, coll. **89**.17: [στρατηγὸς αὶ]ρεθεὶς De Sanctis I 2596, coll. **28**.6: [νομοθέτης αὶ]ρεθεὶς Dow & Travis 11 fin., 12, 13 Wilhelm 1903, 784, coll. [Plu.] Vitae X orat. 852B et Luc. Anach. 17

Ten Years' Administration 317–307 B.C.

on the ten years' administration cp. 1.3–4; 19.4–5; 30.25–6; 23A and 26; cp. further 1.10–12; 2.5–6; 22.5–6; 23E.7; 27.4–5; 28.6; 29.3–4; 30.11–12; 36.10; 40.1–2; 42.5–7; 44.2–3; 54.4; 56.7–8; on the financial administration cp. 43A.4–5; 43B.4–5; 89.16–21

Pausanias, Description of Greece 1.25.6 (BT 1.56.31-57.8 Rocha-Pereira)

After the death of Antipater,¹ Olympias crossed over from Epirus and ruled a (brief) time after she killed Arrhidaeus. Not much later she was besieged and forced to surrender by Cassander and handed over to the mob. After he had become king²—I will only relate what concerns the Athenians—Cassan-

λόγος—Πάνακτον τεῖχος ἐν τῆ ᾿Αττικῆ καὶ Σαλαμῖνα εἷλε τύραννόν τε ᾿Αθηναίοις ἔπραξε γενέσθαι Δημήτριον τὸν Φανοστράτου, [τὰ πρὸς] δόξαν εἰληφότα ἐπὶ σοφία. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τυραννίδος ἔπαυσε Δημήτριος ὁ ᾿Αντιγόνου, ...

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4–10 228 Τ 3c FGrH 4–8 Κάσσανδρος—Φανοστράτου] cf. **16A**.15–17 7 τύραννον] cf. **44**.15 8 Φανοστράτου] ν. ad **1**.2 || τὰ—σοφίᾳ] cf. **1**.22; **2**.9; **14**; **29**.31; **42**.7; **56**.8; **58A**.4; **62**.5–6; **63**.10–11; **64**.5–6

5 ἐπ'] ἐς Sylburg 8 τὰ πρὸς V^2MaL , del. Hitzig: τὰ πατρὸς VP: πατρὸς F

18 Plutarchus, *Demetrius* 10.2 (BT 3.1.11.20–5 Ziegler)

^{26 w} 'Αθηναῖοι δ' ἀπολαβόντες τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτω, τὸν δὲ μέσον χρόνον ἀπὸ τῶν Λαμιακῶν καὶ τῆς περὶ Κραννῶνα μάχης λόγω μὲν ὀλιγαρχικῆς, ἔργω δὲ μοναρχικῆς καταστάσεως

όλιγαρχικής, έργφ δὲ μοναρχικής κατασ γενομένης διὰ τὴν τοῦ Φαληρέως δύναμιν, ...

3–5 λόγω—δύναμιν] cf. **23E**.7; **27**.4–5

2 τὸν δὲ μέσον] τὸν διὰ μέσου Ziegler post Reiske

19 Strabo, *Geographica* 9.1.20 (CB 6.65.13–66.17 Baladié)

27/131 W

καὶ γὰρ εἴ τι μικρὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδονικῶν βασιλέων παρελυπήθησαν, ὥσθ' ὑπακούειν αὐτῶν ἀναγκασθῆναι, τόν γε ὁλοσχερῆ τύπον τῆς πολιτείας τὸν αὐτὸν διετήρουν. ἔνιοι δέ φασι καὶ βέλτιστα τότε αὐτοὺς πολιτεύσασθαι δεκαετῆ χρόνον ὃν ἦρχε Μακεδόνων Κάσανδρος. οὖτος γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ πρὸς μὲν τὰ ἄλλα δοκεῖ τυραννικώτερος γενέσθαι, πρὸς 'Αθηναίους δὲ εὐγνωμόνησε λαβὼν ὑπήκοον τὴν πόλιν ἐπέστησε γὰρ τῶν πολιτῶν Δημήτριον τὸν Φαληρέα τῶν Θεοφράστου τοῦ φιλοσόφου γνωρίμων, ὃς οὐ μόνον οὐ κατέλυσε τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπηνώρθωσε (δηλοῖ δὲ τὰ ὑπομνήματα ὰ συνέγραψε περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ταύτης ἐκεῖνος) · ἀλλ' οὕτως ὁ φθόνος ἴσχυσε καὶ ἡ πρὸς ὀλίγους ἀπέχθεια ώστε μετὰ τὴν Κασάνδρου τελευτὴν ἠναγ-

55 W

der took Panactum, a stronghold in Attica, and Salamis, and he arranged for Demetrius to be made tyrant over the Athenians, son of Phanostratus, a man who had acquired a reputation for wisdom. To his tyranny Demetrius, son of Antigonus, put an end ...³

18 Plutarch, Demetrius 10.2 (BT 3.1.11.20–5 Ziegler)

The Athenians recovered their democracy in the fifteenth year; whereas in the intervening period, beginning with the Lamian War and the battle of Crannon, the constitution had been oligarchical in name but monarchical in fact, owing to the power of the Phalerean ...

¹ In 322. The beginning of Demetrius' 'power' is here put by implication at an earlier date than his election as epimeletes in 317 (16A); cp. however, 12, and the statement of Demetrius of Magnesia in D.L. 5.75 = 1.7-10.

19 Strabo, *Geography* 9.1.20 (*CB* 6.65.13–66.17 Baladié)

For even if they (the Athenians) were subjected to some pressure by the Macedonian kings so that they had to obey them, they at least kept their form of government on the whole unchanged.1 Some people say that at that time their government actually was at its best, during the ten years when Cassander ruled over the Macedonians.² For although this man appears to have been more tyrannical toward the other (nations), he adopted a kind attitude towards the Athenians, once he had subjugated the city. For he gave authority over the citizens to Demetrius of Phalerum, who belonged to the circle around the philosopher Theophrastus; this man not only did not put an end to the democracy but even restored its former power (that is shown by the treatises this man has written about that form of government); but the envy and hate for the oligarchs grew so strong that after Cassander's death he

¹In 319.

²Eurydice, wife of Philip Arrhidaeus, invested Cassander with royal powers in 317.

³ This passage is part of a digression about the history of Athens after Chaeronea in 338. Pausanias goes on to say (again using the words tyrannos and tyrannis) that Cassander later tried to do the same thing with Lachares, and that again it was Demetrius Poliorcetes who threw Lachares out (1.25.7-8).

κάσθη φυγεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, τὰς δ' εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ ¹⁵ πλείους ἢ τριακοσίας κατέσπασαν οἱ ἐπαναστάντες καὶ κατεχώνευσαν, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ προστιθέασιν ὅτι καὶ εἰς ἀμίδας.

4–18 228 T 3b = F 34 FGrH 4–5 βέλτιστα—πολιτεύσασθαι] cf. 1.10–11; 16A.18–19; 16B.3–5; 24B.1–2; 29.31; 42.5–6 5 δεκαετῆ χρόνον] v. ad 1.4 8–9 ἐπέστησε—Φαληρέα] cf. 16A.15–17 9 Thphr. no. 18.5 FHS&G 10–11 ος—ἐπηνώρθωσε] cf. 20B.2; 39; 56.7–8 12 ὑπο-μνήματα] cf. 1.61, 66, 85–6; 2.4 13 φθόνος] v. ad 1.22–4 14–15 ἡναγ-κάσθη—Αἴγυπτον] cf. 1.34–6 15–18 Overbeck no. 1439; cf. 1.26–8

[B = Vatop. 655 (= W)] 9–10 τῶν ... γνωρίμων AE: τῶν ... γνώριμον av, τὸν ... γνώριμον B 16 ἢ τριακοσίας Xylander: ἢ τριακοσίων A, ἢ τ΄ BvE; τῶν τριακοσίων n

Legislator a. 317/6

20A *Marmor Parium* B 15–16, Ep. 13 (239 FGrH II B 1003.25–7 Jacoby)

ἀπὸ τῆς Κλείτου Ιναυμα[χί]ας καὶ Νικάνορος περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Καλχηδονίων, καὶ ὅτε Δημήτριος νόμους ἔθηκεν 'Αθήνησιν, ἔτη ™ΙΙΙ, ἄρχοντος 'Αθήνησι Δημογένους.

1–3 cf. Jacoby MP 22; 127; 198; cf. Ep. 19 (a. 309/8) = **23A** et 20 (a. 308/7) = **26** 2–3 228 T 3d FGrH 2 νόμους ἔθηκεν] cf. **16B**.12; **43A**.14–15; **58A**.3; **104**.18; **40**.4–5

Georgius Syncellus, *Ecloga Chronographica* p. 521 Dind. (BT 331.6–7 Mosshammer)

Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐγνωρίζετο γ΄ νομοθέτης 'Αθήνησιν. οὧτος 'Αθηναίοις ἀποδοὺς τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἦλθεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον.

1–3 haec verba sub titulo σποράδην, de quo v. Mosshammer p. xxvii; 228 T 3d FGrH 1 ἐγνωρίζετο] cf. 14 || γ΄ νομοθέτης] cf. 58A.3 2 ἀποδοὺς τὴν δημ.] cf. 39 et v. ad 19.10–11

15 W

17 W

(Demetrius) was forced to flee to Egypt,³ and his images, more than three hundred, were pulled down by the insurgents and melted down; some also add that they were even (made) into chamber-pots.

- ¹ In 9.1.20 Strabo argues that the Athenians kept their democracy basically intact until the Roman supremacy. The passage cited here is a footnote to that statement.
- ² Strabo seems to confuse Cassander's control of Athens through Demetrius of Phalerum (cp. **89**.25–6) with Cassander's own position in Macedonia.
- ³ Cassander died in 298/7. This date is considerably later than that given by **26** (307).

Lawgiver 317/6 B.C.

20A Marmor Parium B 15–16, Ep. 13 (239 FGrH II B 1003.25–7 Jacoby)

There are 53 years (to the present¹) from the naval battle of Clitus² and Nicanor in the vicinity of the precinct of the Chalcedonians and (from) the time when Demetrius made laws in Athens, in the year when Demogenes was archon in Athens.

¹ The Marmor Parium was composed in 264/3. For the difference in date with D.S. 18.74.1-3 (= **16A**) (a. 318/7), see Jacoby FGrH II b 700^{1} on 239 B 9–27.

² Clitus was commander of Polyperchon's fleet; see **16A** note 1.

20B Georgius Syncellus, *Chronological Abstract* p. 521 Dind. (*BT* 331.6–7 Mosshammer)

Demetrius of Phalerum was known as the third lawgiver in Athens.¹ After having restored democracy to the Athenians he went to Egypt.²

- ¹ The two others are probably Solon and Draco; cp. Dow & Travis, *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 156³⁹.
- ² This entry is under the heading "miscellaneous" at the end of a paragraph on the period 323 to 225 B.C.

45 W

Bellum Antigoni et Cassandri a. 314-311

Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* 19.68.2–3 (BT 5.109.5; 8–16 Fischer)

ὁ δὲ Κάσανδρος ... ἐξέπεμψε δύναμιν εἰς τὴν Καρίαν, ἄμα μὲν βουλόμενος βοηθεῖν τοῖς συμμάχοις, ἄμα δὲ σπεύδων εἰς περισπασμοὺς ἐμβαλεῖν 'Αντίγονον, ἵνα μὴ σχολὴν ἔχῃ διαβαίνειν εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Δημήτριον τὸν Φαληρέα καὶ Διονύσιον τὸν φρουροῦντα τὴν Μουνυχίαν, προστάττων εἴκοσι ναῦς εἰς Λῆμνον ἐκπέμψαι. ἀποστειλάντων δ' αὐτῶν εὐθὺς τὰ σκάφη καὶ ναύαρχον ἐπ' αὐτῶν 'Αριστοτέλη οὧτος μὲν καταπλεύσας εἰς Λῆμνον ...

Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* 19.78.3–5 (BT 5.126.4–17 Fischer)

ό δ' οὖν Πτολεμαῖος ἐκπολιορκήσας 'Ωρωπὸν παρέδωκε τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς καὶ τοὺς Κασάνδρου στρατιώτας
ὑποχειρίους ἔλαβε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 'Ερετριεῖς καὶ
Καρυστίους εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν προσλαβόμενος ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τὴν 'Αττικήν, Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως 5
ἐπιστατοῦντος τῆς πόλεως. οἱ δ' 'Αθηναῖοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
λάθρα διεπέμποντο πρὸς 'Αντίγονον, ἀξιοῦντες
ἐλευθερῶσαι τὴν πόλιν· τότε δὲ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου
παραγενηθέντος πλησίον τῆς πόλεως θαρρήσαντες
ἠνάγκασαν τὸν Δημήτριον ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι καὶ 10
πρεσβείας ἀποστέλλειν πρὸς 'Αντίγονον περὶ συμ5 μαχίας. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ἀναζεύξας ἐκ τῆς 'Αττικῆς εἰς
τὴν Βοιωτίαν τήν τε Καδμείαν εἶλε καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν
ἐκβαλὼν ἠλευθέρωσε τὰς Θήβας.

6 ἐπιστατοῦντος] cf. 19.8; 30.26

¹ Πτολεμαῖος Palmerius (cf. 8, 12): Πολέμων RF: Πολεμαῖος Bizière ex IG II² 469,3 (iterum 8, 12); cf. Lenschau RE 21.1, 1252

The War between Antigonus and Cassander 314–311 B.C.

Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History* 19.68.2–3 (*BT* 5.109.5; 8–16 Fischer)

Cassander ... sent off a force to Caria, both wishing to support his allies and eager to throw Antigonus into confusion, in order that he would not be at liberty to cross over to Europe. He also wrote to Demetrius of Phalerum and Dionysius, commander of the garrison on Munychia, ordering them to send out twenty ships to Lemnos. They immediately sent off the boats with Aristotle as their commander. He sailed down to Lemnos ...¹

¹This episode belongs to the 'Third Diadoch War' (314–311), with Cassander and Antigonus Monophthalmus as the main antagonists. R.M. Errington, *Hermes* 105 (1977) 498, 500 puts this expedition in "deep autumn–perhaps October–" of 313.

- Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History* 19.78.3–5 (*BT* 5.126.4–17 Fischer)
 - Having taken Oropus¹ by siege, Ptolemaeus² handed (it) over to the Boeotians and made captives of Cassander's soldiers. After that he received the Eretrians and Carystians³ into the alliance and marched into Attica. At that time Demetrius of Phalerum was at the head of the government of the city. At first the Athenians secretly sent messages to Antigonus asking him to liberate the city. But then, when Ptolemaeus appeared quite close to the city, they took courage and forced Demetrius to conclude a truce and send off deputations to Antigonus about an alliance. Ptolemaeus moved out of Attica into Boeotia, captured the Cadmea, and having thrown out the garrison liberated Thebes.⁴
 - ¹ Oropus, on the Boeotian coast facing Euboea, had been taken shortly before by Cassander (D.S. 19.77.6).
 - ² Ptolemaeus, or more correctly Polemaeus, was a nephew of Antigonus and his right hand in the years 314–310.
 - ³ Eretria and Carystus are both on the coast of Euboea.
 - ⁴Cassander had left a garrison in Thebes (D.S. 19.77.6). Errington (**21** note 1) 498, 500 puts the events related here in the summer of 312.

Archon Eponymus a. 309/8

cf. 1.32-3; 11.2-3; 43A.22; 25

23A *Marmor Parium* B 22–4, Ep. 19 (239 FGrH II B 1004.9–12 Jacoby)

ἀφ' οὖ Λ[υ|σι]μάχεια πόλις ἐκτίσθη, καὶ 'Οφέλας εἰς [Κα]ρχ[ηδόνα ... 30-40 ...]σωι καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ υἱὸς ἐγ Κῶι ἐγένετο, καὶ Κλ[εο|π]άτρα ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἀπέθαν[ε ... ± 35 ... ἔτη ΔΔΔΔΓ, ἄρχοντος 'Α]θήνησ[ι Δ]ημητρίου.

1-4 cf. Jacoby MP 23; 129–131; 201; cf. Ep. 13 (a. 317/6) = **20A**; Ep. 20 (a. 308/7) = **26**

2 Καρχ[ηδόνα μεταβὰς ἀνηιρέθη — νό]σωι καὶ Wilhelm, AM 22 (1897) 206-7: Καρχηδ[όνα στρατεύσας ἐτελεύτησε] καὶ Munro, CR 15 (1901) 361: Καρχηδ[όνα ἐστράτευσε καὶ Πτολεμαῖος (vel Μάγας) Κυρήνην ἔλαβεν] dubitanter Jacoby 3 ἀπέθαν[ε καὶ ὁ Σωτὴρ Πτολεμαῖος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διέβη] Wilhelm, AM 22 (1897) 209

*23B *Agora* XIX, H 84

[ἐπὶ Δη]μητρίου ἄρχον-[τος ὅρ]ος οἰκίας πεπραμ-[ένης] ἐπὶ λύσει : FHH [ἐρα]νισταῖς vacat

1-4 'A stele of Pentelic marble, broken on the left side and bottom ... Found ... in a cistern of the 1st century B.C., northwest of the Church of Dionysios the Areopagite.'; ed. B.D. Merritt, Hesperia 10 (1941) no. 18 p. 54-5 (Inv. no. I 1978); cf. SEG 41.133; Tracy ADT 39¹⁸

*23C Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum 35.136

όρον (sic) ... μυλώνος καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τῆς περὶ τὸν μυλώνα πεπραμένων ἐπὶ λύσει ... ἐπὶ Δημητρίου ἄρχοντος.

1-3 'ELEUSIS. SECURITY HOROS, 309/8 B.C. Rough stone found in excavations of the Greek Archaeological Service at the intersection of Aischylos and Pankratos Streets'; cf. Th. Karageorgha, AD 33 (1978) [1985] B 31; H.W. Catling, AR 32 (1985/6) [1986] 16

18 W

Eponymous Archon 309/8 B.C.

cp. 1.32-3; 11.2-3; 43A.22; 25

23A Marmor Parium B 22-4, Ep. 19 (239 FGrH II B 1004.9-12 Jacoby)

(Reckoning) from the time when the city of Lysimachia was founded, and Ophelas to Carthage ... 30-40 letters ... and Ptolemy the son was born in Cos^1 and Cleopatra² died in Sardis and ... c. 35 letters ..., (to the present³) 45 years, in the year that Demetrius was archon in Athens.

*23B Agora XIX, H 84

During the archonship of Demetrius: pillar of notification of the sale of a house for the redemption (of a mortgage): 700 (drachmae) for the members of the society.¹

¹ Lines 1-4 were imperfectly erased (the letters are still legible in the erasure) to make way for a similar notification (H 78) dated to the archorship of Caerimus (308/7).

*23C Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum 35.136

Pillar of notification of (the) mill and the fixtures of the mill sold for the redemption (of a mortgage) ... during the archonship of Demetrius.¹

¹ This can hardly be anyone else than Demetrius of Phalerum (cp. Catling: "Only one street surface was preserved, containing late 4th cent. B.C. pottery. An inscription was found cut in one of the blocks of the street kerb wall."), but it is not as certain as in the case of **23B**.

¹ Ptolemy II Philadelphus, son of Ptolemy I Soter.

² Cleopatra, sister of Alexander the Great, was killed in Sardis by order of Antigonus (D.S. 20.37.3-6).

³ See **20A** note 1.

Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca historica 20.27.1 (BT 5.211.1-3 Fischer)

19 w ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' 'Αθήνησι Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν ἐν 'Ρώμη παρέλαβον Κόιντος Φάβιος τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Γάιος Μάρκιος.

*23E Dionysius Halicarnassensis, De Dinarcho 9.2 (CB 5.133.11–15; 134.5–8 Aujac)

ἐπεὶ δ' ἀναγκαία πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ τῶν χρόνων διάγνωσις, τοὺς 'Αθήνησιν ἄρξαντας, ἀφ' οῦ Δείναρχον
ὑπεθέμεθα γεγονέναι χρόνου, μέχρι τῆς δοθείσης αὐτῷ
μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν καθόδου, γενομένους ἑβδομήκοντα,
προθήσομεν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἵδε· Νικόφημος ... Ἱερομνήμων,
Δημήτριος, Καίριμος, 'Αναξικράτης ἐπὶ τούτου ἡ
κατασταθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου ὀλιγαρχία κατελύθη,
καὶ οἱ εἰσαγγελθέντες ἔφυγον, ἐν οἷς καὶ Δείναρχος ἦν.

6 'Αναξικράτης Sylburg: 'Αναρχικράτης F

Honores Publici/Statuae

cf. 1.4-7; 26-9; 111-13; 19.15-18; 152

24A Nepos, *Miltiades* 6.2–4 (BT 5.26–6.6 Marshall)

- ut enim populi Romani honores quondam fuerunt rari et tenues ob eamque causam gloriosi, nunc autem effusi atque obsoleti, sic olim apud Athenienses fuisse reperimus.
- namque huic Miltiadi, qui Athenas totamque Graeciam liberarat, talis honos tributus est, in porticu, quae Poecile uocatur, cum pugna depingeretur Marathonia, ut in decem

23D Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History* 20.27.1 (*BT* 5.211.1–3 Fischer)

In the year when Demetrius of Phalerum was archon in Athens, Quintus Fabius, for the second time, and Gaius Marcius took over the consulate in Rome.¹

¹ This chapter of D.S. is the beginning of Olympiad 117,4 = 309/8. The Roman consuls were Q. Fabius M. f. N. n. Rullianus II and C. Marcius C. f. L. n. Rutilus (Censorinus).

*23E Dionysius of Halicarnassus, On Dinarchus 9.2 (CB 5.133.11–15; 134.5–8 Aujac)

Since for this purpose¹ it is necessary to determine the chronology of the period, we will list those who have held the office of archon in Athens, from the time Dinarchus as we take it was born, up to the time when it was granted to him to return after his exile. These, seventy in number, are the following: Nicophemus... Hieromnemon, Demetrius, Caerimus, Anaxicrates;² during the tenure of the last-named the oligarchy set up by Cassander was dissolved, and those who had been impeached fled the country, Dinarchus amongst them.

¹ That of distinguishing between genuine and spurious speeches of Dinarchus.

²Eponymous archons in 361/0 and 310/09, 309/8, 308/7 and 307/06 respectively.

Public Honors/Statues

cf. **1**.4–7; 26–9; 111–13; **19**.15–18; **152**

24A Nepos, *Miltiades* 6.2–4 (*BT* 5.26–6.6 Marshall)

- The honors awarded by the Roman people once were rare and slight, and for that very reason full of glory; nowadays they are lavishly bestowed and of little worth. We find that the same was
- the case among the Athenians a long time ago. For the very man who had liberated Athens and the whole of Greece, Miltiades, was awarded the honor of having his image placed foremost amongst the ten archons in the painting of the Battle of Marathon

praetorum numero prima eius imago poneretur isque
hortaretur milites proeliumque committeret. idem ille
populus, posteaquam maius imperium est nactus et
largitione magistratuum corruptus est, trecentas statuas

Demetrio Phalereo decreuit.

4-8 namque—committeret] cf. Paus. 1.15.3 8-11 Overbeck no. 1438

*24B Ampelius, Liber Memorialis 15.19 (BT 31.10–13 Assmann)

Demetrius Phalereus <qui> vir bonus existimatus ob insignem iustitiam ideoque statuis CCC est honoratus, quas ei pro libertate posuerunt in facie publica.

1 ob insignem iustitiam] cf. **16A**.18–19; **29**.31

1 qui add. Halm 1-2 ideoque ob insignem iusticiam M: transp. Assmann 3 pro libertate] pro liberalitate Zink, Eos 2 (1866) 317-8; cf. 24A.10 || facie] arce Perizonius, cf. 1.29: statione Zink, l.l., sed cf. Assmann p. xxiv

Nonius Marcellus, De Conpendiosa Doctrina XII (BT 3.848.22-849.2 Lindsay)

LVCIS, numero plurali, quod sunt dies. Varro Hebdomadum sub imagine Demetri:

> híc Demétrius ést † catus quót lucís habet ánnus ábsolútus;

4 quot—absolutus] cf. 25A.3-4

Plinius, Naturalis Historia 34.12.27 (CB 117.12–16 Le Bonniec)

primus tamen honos coepit a Graecis, nullique arbitror plures statuas dicatas quam Phalereo Demetrio Athenis,

³ ést † catus] est tot aptu' signa Quicherat: iconas tot aptust Roeper: aeneas (aereas Schrader) tot aptust Scaliger

in the Stoa Poikile, i.e. (in a position) to exhort the soldiers and to commence the battle. This same people has, after it had acquired a greater empire and been corrupted by the largesse of the public officers, awarded three hundred statues to Demetrius of Phalerum.²

¹ Nepos argues that the nature of all states is essentially the same. This belief is further explained (*enim*) in this passage.

² The figures range from 300 (24A, 24B, 25B), more than 300 (19.16), 360 (1.4-5, 24C, 25A) to 1,500 (25C).

*24B Ampelius, Book of Memoranda 15.19 (BT 31.10-13 Assmann)

Demetrius of Phalerum, who was esteemed a good man because of his outstanding justness and therefore was honored with 300 statues, which they erected for him in public in return for their liberty.¹

¹ Demetrius is the last in a list of 'Illustrious kings and leaders of the Athenians', including Cecrops, Erichthonius, Pandion, Theseus, Demophon, Codrus, Pisistratus, Harmodius and Aristogiton, Miltiades, Aristides the Just, Cimon, Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, Conon, Dion, Iphicrates, Phocion and Chabrias.

24C Nonius Marcellus, Dictionary of Republican Latin XII (BT 3.848.22-849.2 Lindsay)

'Lucis', plural, that is 'days'. Varro in his *Hebdomades* under the image of Demetrius:

This is Demetrius †Catus† as many as there are days in a complete year.

25A Pliny, *Natural History* 34.12.27 (*CB* 117.12–16 Le Bonniec)

This way of honouring people, however, started first with the Greeks, and to no one, I think, were more statues dedicated than to Demetrius of Phalerum in Athens, if it is true that 360 (stat-

siquidem CCCLX statuere, nondum anno hunc numerum dierum excedente, quas mox laceravere.

1-4 Overbeck no. 1437 3-4 nondum—excedente] cf. 24C.4

3 CCCLX VRdh: CCCXL BT

Plutarchus, Praecepta gerendae reipublicae 27 820E (BT 5.1.114.3–11 Hubert)

οὐ γὰρ μισθὸν εἶναι δεῖ τῆς πράξεως ἀλλὰ σύμβολον τὴν τιμήν, ἵνα καὶ διαμένῃ πολὺν χρόνον, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖναι διέμειναν. τῶν δὲ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως τριακοσίων ἀνδριάντων οὐδεὶς ἔσχεν ἰὸν οὐδὲ πίνον, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἔτι ζῶντος προανῃρέθησαν· τοὺς δὲ Δημάδου κατεχώνευσαν εἰς ἀμίδας· καὶ πολλαὶ τοιαῦτα τιμαὶ πεπόνθασιν οὐ μοχθηρία τοῦ λαβόντος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγέθει τοῦ δοθέντος δυσχερανθεῖσαι.

3-5 Overbeck no. 1440

3 τριακοσίων om. J^ISE 4 πίνον $GVkd^Iz\ThetaE$ 6 ἀμίδας] ἀμηνίαν $\Phi \parallel$ τοιαῦται $GVkd^IvRyZ$

Favorinus Arelatensis, *Corinthiaca* 41 (F 95 p. 311.16–20 Barigazzi)

οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ καὶ 'Αρμόδιον καὶ 'Αριστογείτονα δουλεύσαντας ἐν Πέρσαις καὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως πεντακοσίους ἀνδριάντας καὶ χιλίους ὑπὸ 'Αθηναίων μιῷ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἡμέρᾳ πάντας καθῃρημένους. ἐτόλμησαν δὲ καὶ Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀμίδας κατασκεδάσαι.

1-6 = [D. Chr.], Or. 37.41 (2.27.6-10 von Arnim); de Oratione Corinthiaca (37) v. von Arnim 2.iii; Barigazzi 298-302 1-4 Overbeck no. 1441

ues)—the days of the year not yet exceeding this number—were erected, which however were pulled down soon afterwards.

¹ I.e, the erection of columns, symbolizing the elevation of the person honored above other mortals (as the triumphal arches later did).

25B Plutarch, *Political Precepts* 27 820E (*BT* 5.1.114.3–11 Hubert)

For honor should be awarded not in payment for the action performed but as a symbol, in order that it may also last a long time, as the honors mentioned earlier have lasted. Of the three hundred statues of Demetrius of Phalerum not one became rusty or dirty; rather all were pulled down in his lifetime. And those of Demades were melted down to make chamber-pots. Many such honors have also fared no better, because people became disgusted with them not only through the badness of the recipient but also through the greatness of the gift.

¹ Plutarch's point is that those who really have the interest of the state at heart, should be content with an inscription or honorary decree, and not desire a statue.

²Together with Phocion Demades was at the head of affairs in Athens after 322. In 319 he was sent on an embassy to Antipater, but was executed by Cassander on a charge of treason (Plu. *Dem.* 31.4–6; *Phoc.* 30; D.S. 18.48.1–4). He may have been confused with Demetrius of Phalerum in Plutarch's sources.

25C Favorinus of Arelate, *Corinthian Oration* 41 (F 95 p. 311.16–20 Barigazzi)

I know that even Harmodius and Aristogiton have been slaves amongst the Persians,¹ and that fifteen hundred statues of Demetrius of Phalerum have all been pulled down by the Athenians on one and the same day. They even dared to empty chamber-pots on Philip the king.²

¹ In 480 Xerxes took away the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton; later Antiochus returned them (Paus. 1.8.5; Arr. An. 7.19.2; Val. Max. 2.10 ext. 1).

² Nothing is otherwise known about Philip's statue.

Deiectio a. 307

cf. 1.34-6; 2.11; 17.9-10; 19.14-15; 20B.2-3; 23E.6-8; 32.1-2; 35.7; 36.11; 39

26 *Marmor Parium* B 24–5, Ep. 20 (239 FGrH II B 1004.13–15 Jacoby)

47 w ἀφ' οὖ Δημήτριος ὁ 'Αντιγόνου τὸ[μ | Π]ειραιᾶ πολιορκήσας ἔλαβεν, [καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐξέπεσεν 'Αθηνῶν, ἔτη ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙΙ, ἄρχοντος] 'Αθήνησι Καιρίμου.

1–3 Jacoby MP 23; 131; 201–2; 228 T 4b FGrH; cf. **20A**, **23A** 2 ἐξέπεσεν] cf. **30**.26; **32**.2

*27 Suda, s.v. Δημήτριος ὁ ἀντιγόνου (no. 431, LG 1.2.41.23–8 Adler)

καὶ ὁ Μακεδονικὸς ἄρχων οὐ διὰ σχολαιότητος ἀφικνεῖται καὶ τήν τε Μουνυχίασιν οὖσαν φρουρὰν ἐκβάλλει καὶ Διονύσιον, τὸν ἐπιτεταγμένον αὐτῆ, κτείνει καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν Φαληρέα μεθίστησιν, ὸς δὴ τὰ ᾿Αθήνησιν ἦγεν εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν, καὶ αὐτονομεῖσθαι, 5 καθότι πάτριον, ᾿Αθηναίοις τε καὶ Μεγαρεῦσιν ἔδωκεν, φυλάττειν τε ὅσα ἦν σφίσιν ἐκ τῆς εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολιτείας νόμιμα.

2 Μουνυχίασιν] c_j. Marmor Parium 239 FGrH B 25-6 Ep. 21 (a. 307/6) 5 εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν] cf. **18**.3-5; **23E**.7

2 Μουνυχίασιν in add. Bhd.: Μουνυχία A: Μουνυχίαν rell. 7 τῆς A: τοῦ GITM 8 νόμιμα AM: νόμιμον GI

Polyaenus, Strategemata 4.7.6 (BT 201.1–16 Woelfflin & Melber)

Δημήτριος τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐκράτησεν οὐχὶ παντὶ τῷ

² Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐξέπεσεν 'Αθηνῶν Jacoby: Δ. ὁ Φ. 'Αθήνας παρέδωκεν vel εἰς Θήβας ἔφυγεν Wilhelm, AM 22 (1897) 210

Downfall 307 B.C.

cp. **1**.34–6; **2**.11; **17**.9–10; **19**.14–15; **20B**.2–3; **23E**.6–8; **32**.1–2; **35**.7; **36**.11; **39**

26 Marmor Parium B 24–5, Ep. 20 (239 FGrH II B 1004.13–15 Jacoby)

(There are) 44 years (to the present¹) from the time when Demetrius, the son of Antigonus,² took the Piraeus by siege and Demetrius of Phalerum was expelled from Athens,³ (in the year when) Caerimus was archon at Athens.⁴

*27 Suda, under Demetrius son of Antigonus (no. 431, LG 1.2.41.23–8 Adler)

And the Macedonian leader (Demetrius Poliorcetes) arrived with all speed and threw out the garrison which was in Munychia¹ and killed Dionysius, the man who had been put in command of it,² and removed Demetrius of Phalerum, who turned the Athenian constitution into an oligarchy, and gave autonomy, as of old, to the Athenians and Megarians,³ and (allowed them) to retain all institutions intrinsic to their constitution of former times.

Polyaenus, *Military Stratagems* 4.7.6 (*BT* 201.1–16 Woelfflin & Melber)

Demetrius (Poliorcetes) did not get the Piraeus in his power by

¹ Cp. **20A** note 1.

² Demetrius Poliorcetes, son of Antigonus Monophthalmus.

³ The supplement in the text about Demetrius of Phalerum in 1. 2 is quite probable, because the explicit specification of Demetrius as "the son of Antigonus" in 1. 1 presuposes the mention of a different Demetrius in 1. 2; see Jacoby MP 131.

⁴ I.e., 308/7. Cp. notes 1 to **29** and **30**.

¹ This entry opens with a statement that Demetrius and Ptolemy both tried to be the first to liberate Greece from Cassander. It ignores the taking of the Piraeus which preceded that of Munychia, according to D.S. 20.45 (= 30).

²Dionysius was already there in 313; see 21.5-6.

³ Cp. D.S. 20.46.1 and 3.

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ναυτικῷ κατάρας, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν πλείστας τριήρεις ὑπὸ τῷ Σουνίῷ ναυλοχεῖν κελεύσας, εἴκοσι δὲ τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας ἐπιλεξάμενος προσέταξε ῥοθίῷ τῷ εἰρεσίᾳ πλεῖν οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα. 5 Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς, 'Αθηναίων στρατηγῶν, ἐτύγχανε μὲν κασανδρίζων · ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως κατιδὼν τὰς εἴκοσι νέας ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος πλεούσας, ἐνόμισεν εἶναι Πτολεμαϊκὰς ἐπὶ Κορίνθου πορευομένας. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν εἴκοσι ἐπιστρέψαντες εὐθὺ τοῦ Πειραιῶς κατέσχον, 10 παραχρῆμα δὲ καὶ Σουνιόθεν ὁ στόλος ἄπας ἐπικατήγετο · ὥστε πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκβάντες κατελάβοντο τοὺς πύργους καὶ τὸν λιμένα. κήρυκες δὲ ἀνεβόων · "Δημήτριος τὰς 'Αθήνας ἐλευθεροῖ" καὶ 'Αθηναῖοι τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς ἐλευθερίας †ἐρώμενοι† Δημήτριον προσ- 15 εδέξαντο.

1–16 228 T 4b FGrH 6 στρατηγῶν] cf. ad **16B**.11 7 κασανδρίζων] cf. **30**.12; ad **16A**.15–17

1 παντὶ in P rec. manu ex πάντων corr.: πάντων F vulg. 3 ἀρίστας F 9 Πτολεμαϊκὰς Woelfflin coll. **29**.8: πολεμικὰς F vulg. 10 εὐθὺ FV: εὐθὺς vulg. 15 ἐρώμενοι FV: ὁρώμενοι vulg. Woelfflin coll. 5.2.5: ἀκροώμενοι Hertlein, JClPh 7 (1861) 253 || Δημήτριον οὐ προσεδέξαντο F

29 Plutarchus, *Demetrius* 8.4–9.3 (BT 3.1.9.5–10.9 Ziegler)

ἔπλει δὲ Δημήτριος ἔχων ἀργυρίου πεντακισχίλια τάλαντα καὶ στόλον νεῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἐπὶ τὰς ᾿Αθήνας, τὸ μὲν ἄστυ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως Κασάνδρῳ διοικοῦντος, ἐν δὲ τῷ Μουνυχία φρουρᾶς καθεστώσης. εὐτυχία δ᾽ ἄμα καὶ προνοία χρησάμενος ἐπεφαίνετο τῷ Πειραιεῖ πέμπτῃ φθίνοντος Θαργηλιῶνος, προαισθομένου μὲν οὐδενός, ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἄφθη πλησίον ὁ στόλος, ἀπάντων ὡς Πτολεμαϊκὰς τὰς ναῦς ὑποδέχεσθαι παρασκευαζομένων, ὀψὲ συμφρονήσαντες ἐβοήθουν οἱ στρατηγοί, καὶ θόρυβος ἦν οἱον εἰκὸς ἐν ἀπροσδοκήτῳ πολεμίους ἀποβαίνοντας ἀναγκαζομένων ἀμύνεσθαι. τοῖς γὰρ στόμασι τῶν λιμένων ἀκλείστοις ἐπιτυχὼν ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ διεξελάσας, ἐντὸς ἦν ἤδη καταφανὴς πᾶσι, καὶ διεσήμηνεν ἀπὸ τῆς νεὼς αἴτησιν ἡσυχίας καὶ

swooping down on it with the whole of his fleet. Instead he ordered most of his triremes to lie in wait at the foot of Cape Sunium, and selecting the twenty fastest ones he ordered them to row at full speed, not to the city but ostensibly in the direction of Salamis. Demetrius of Phalerum, who was general of the Athenians, happened to be on Cassander's side. Seeing from the Acropolis the twenty ships sailing in the direction of Salamis, he thought they were Ptolemy's ships proceeding towards Corinth.¹ But the men on the twenty ships made a turn and straight away bore down on the Piraeus, while the whole (main body of the) fleet as well immediately came sailing down from Cape Sunium. As a result they landed in great numbers and took the strongholds and the port. Heralds announced loudly, "Demetrius is setting Athens free". And the Athenians, †...† the announcement of freedom, welcomed Demetrius.

¹ In 308 Ptolemy had taken Sicyon and Corinth in his campaign of liberating Greece, but when the Peloponnesians did not cooperate, he made peace with Cassander and leaving a garrison in Sicyon and Corinth departed for Egypt (D.S. 20.37.1–2).

29 Plutarch, *Demetrius* 8.4–9.3 (*BT* 3.1.9.5–10.9 Ziegler)

Demetrius (Poliorcetes) sailed against Athens with 5,000 talents in silver money and a fleet of 250 ships. Demetrius of Phalerum was administering the city for Cassander, and a garrison was stationed on Munychia. Through sheer luck and planning as well, he appeared outside the Piraeus on the 26th of Thargelion, without anyone having seen (him coming). As soon as the fleet was seen to be near, all prepared to welcome the ships thinking they belonged to Ptolemy. Too late the generals perceived their mistake and came to the rescue; the confusion was great, as is likely to occur when unexpectedly men are compelled to defend themselves against an enemy landing. For Demetrius (Poliorcetes) had found that the entrances to the harbours were not closed and had sailed through; already inside and visible to all, he made a signal from his ship to demand quiet and silence.

σιωπης, γενομένου δε τούτου κήρυκα παραστησάμενος 15 άνεῖπεν, ὅτι πέμψειεν αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἀγαθῆ τύχη, ᾿Αθηναίους έλευθερώσοντα καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἐκβαλοῦντα καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν πάτριον ἀποδώσοντα πολιτείαν.

άναρρηθέντων δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ παραχρῆμα 20 τὰς ἀσπίδας θέμενοι πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν ἀνεκρότησαν, καὶ βοῶντες ἐκέλευον ἀποβαίνειν τὸν Δημήτριον, εὐεργέτην 2 καὶ σωτῆρα προσαγορεύοντες · οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φαληρέα πάντως μὲν ἄοντο δεῖν δέχεσθαι τὸν κρατοῦντα, κἂν μηδεν ὧν ἐπαγγέλλεται μέλλη βεβαιοῦν, ὅμως δὲ πρέσ-25 βεις δεομένους ἀπέστειλαν, οἷς ὁ Δημήτριος ἐντυχὼν φιλανθρώπως συνέπεμψε παρ' έαυτοῦ τῶν πατρώων 3 φίλων τὸν Μιλήσιον 'Αριστόδημον, τοῦ δὲ Φαληρέως διὰ τὴν μεταβολὴν τῆς πολιτείας μᾶλλον τοὺς πολίτας ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους δεδοικότος οὐκ ἠμέλησεν ὁ Δημήτριος, 30 άλλὰ καὶ τὴν δόξαν αἰδεσθεὶς καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός, είς Θήβας αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἐβούλετο μετ' ἀσφαλείας συνεξέπεμψεν.

1–33 228 T 4b FGrH 4 διοικοῦντος] cf. 16A.15 | φρουρᾶς] cf. **16A**. 12–13; **30**.7 30 δεδοικότος] cf. **1**.34–5 31 τὴν δόξαν] cf. 2.9; 17.8 || τὴν ἀρετὴν] v. ad 16A.18-19 32 εἰς Θήβας] cf. 30.24; **32**.2

5 δ'] τὲ r 7 μὲν οὐδενός] μηδενὸς P 9 παρασκευαζομένων, ὀψὲ $\langle \delta \dot{\epsilon} \rangle$ Ziegler 10 είκος om. r 16 $\langle \tau \circ \dot{\tau} \circ \dot{\tau} \rangle$ 'Αθηναίους Sintenis seq. Ziegler 20 παραχρημα om. PK 22 ἐκέλευον] ἀνεκέλευον Κ 22-3 εὐεργέτην—προσαγορεύοντες] καὶ σ. καὶ εὐ. ἀναγορεύ-24 πάντως Anon.: πάντες codd. 25 μηδεν] οὐδεν r ll έπαγγέλλεται] - έλληται P 27 πατρώων] πρώτων r 30 δεδοικότος] φοβουμένου r

30 Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca historica 20.45.1-5 (BT 5.239.3–6; 239.9–240.7 Fischer)

> τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μὲν ήρχεν 'Αναξικράτης, ἐν 'Ρώμη δὲ ὕπατοι κατέστησαν "Αππιος Κλαύδιος καὶ Λεύκιος Οὐολόμνιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Δημήτριος μεν ο 'Αντιγόνου ... έξέπλευσεν έκ της Ἐφέσου · παράγγελμα δ' είχεν έλευθεροῦν πάσας 5

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- When that had been effected, he placed a herald beside him and announced that his father³ had sent him (intending to promote) their good fortune: he was to liberate the Athenians, throw out the garrison and give them back their laws and the constitution of their fathers.
- At this announcement most (of the Athenians) at once placed their shields at their feet and applauded loudly; with loud cheers they called upon Demetrius to disembark, addressing him as
- benefactor and saviour. The party of the Phalerean believed they had to accept the conqueror in any event, even if he would not keep any of his promises. Nevertheles they despatched envoys pleading their cause. Demetrius met them in a friendly manner and sent back with them as his representative Aristodemus of
- Miletus,⁴ one of the friends of his father's family. Because of the change in government the Phalerean was more afraid of his fellow citizens than of the enemies; Demetrius (Poliorcetes) took his situation to heart, and out of respect for both his reputation and his virtue, helped him to get away to Thebes in safety as he wished.⁵
 - ¹ Thargelion corresponds to May/June.
 - ² Ptolemy had made peace with Cassander (note 1 to 28); so these ships would have belonged to allies of the Athenians.
 - ³ Antigonus Monophthalmus; cp. note 2 to 30.
 - ⁴ A trusted friend and helper of Antigonus.
 - ⁵ In Plutarch's account (9.4–10.1) Demetrius after this first attacked Megara and threw out Cassander's garrison; then he did the same with Munychia (cp. 31); after that he assembled the Athenian people and officially restored democracy. The over-enthusiastic manner in which the Athenians reacted, elicits from Plutarch the comment cited in 18.
- 30 Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History* 20.45.1–5 (*BT* 5.239.3–6; 239.9–240.7 Fischer)
 - After the year had ended, Anaxicrates was the eponymous archon in Athens and Appius Claudius and Lucius Volumnius became consuls in Rome. During the period of their office, Demetrius (Poliorcetes), the son of Antigonus, ... set sail from Ephesus. He had orders to liberate all the cities throughout Hellas,

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μὲν τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πόλεις, πρώτην δὲ τὴν ᾿Αθηναίων, φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου. καταπλεύσαντος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ πανταχόθεν προσβαλόντος ἐξ ἐφόδου καὶ κήρυγμα ποιησαμένου Διονύσιος ὁ καθεσταμένος ἐπὶ τῆς το Μουνυχίας φρούραρχος καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς πόλεως γεγενημένος ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου, πολλοὺς ἔχοντες στρατιώτας, ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἠμύνοντο. τῶν δ᾽ ᾿Αντιγόνου στρατιωτῶν τινες βιασάμενοι καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν ὑπερβάντες ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους παρ- το εδέξαντο πλείους τῶν συναγωνιζομένων.

τὸν μὲν οὖν Πειραιᾶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἁλῶναι συνέβη, τῶν δ΄ ἔνδον Διονύσιος μὲν ὁ φρούραρχος εἰς τὴν Μουνυχίαν συνέφυγε, Δημήτριος δ΄ ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς ἄστυ. τῆ δ΄ ὑστεραία πεμφθεὶς μεθ΄ ½0 ἑτέρων πρεσβευτὴς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς Δημήτριον καὶ περὶ τῆς αὐτονομίας διαλεχθεὶς καὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας ἔτυχε παραπομπῆς καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὰς ᾿Αθήνας ἀπογινώσκων ἔφυγεν εἰς τὰς Θήβας, ὕστερον δὲ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον εἰς Αἴγυπτον. οὖτος μὲν οὖν ἔτη δέκα τῆς ½5 πόλεως ἐπιστατήσας ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον. ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων κομισάμενος τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐψηφίσατο τιμὰς τοῖς αἰτίοις τῆς αὐτονομίας.

2 'Αναξικράτους] cf. **23Ε**.6–7; **31**.3–4 7 φρουρουμένην] cf. **16Α**.12–13; **29**.3 11–12 Δημήτριος—Κασάνδρου] ν. ad **16Α**.15–17 12 ἐπιμελητὴς] cf. **16Α**.16 18–25 228 T 4a FGrH 22 περὶ τῆς αὐτονομίας] cf. **27**.5 24 Θήβας] cf. **29**.32; **32**.2 25 ἔτη δέκα] ν. ad **1**.4 26 ἐπιστατήσας] cf. **19**.8; **22**.6 || ἐξέπεσεν] cf. **26**.2; **32**.2

Philochorus ap. Dionysium Halicarnassensem, *De Dinarcho* 3.4–5 (CB 5.126.11–22 Aujac)

Φιλόχορος δὲ ἐν ταῖς ᾿Αττικαῖς ἱστορίαις περί τε τῆς φυγῆς τῶν καταλυσάντων τὸν δῆμον καὶ περὶ τῆς καθόδου πάλιν οὕτως λέγει· "τοῦ γὰρ ᾿Αναξικράτους

⁹ κηρύγματα F 22 περὶ] ὑπὲρ F || καὶ τῆς ἰδίας] καὶ περὶ τῆς ἰδ. F 23 παραπομπῆς] παραφυλακῆς F || τὰ κατὰ om. X

and first that of the Athenians, which was being held by a garrison of Cassander's. He sailed with his naval force into the Piraeus, made an immediate attack on all sides and issued a proclamation; but Dionysius, who was the commander of the garrison on Munychia, and Demetrius of Phalerum, who had been made overseer of the city by Cassander, had many soldiers and defended themselves from the walls. But some of Antigonus' soldiers forced their way through along the coast and climbed the wall.² Once within they admitted more of their fellow soldiers.

In that way it came to pass that the Piraeus was captured. Of those inside, Dionysius, the commander of the garrison, took refuge in Munychia; Demetrius of Phalerum withdrew into the city.

The following day he, together with some others, was sent by the people as ambassador to Demetrius (Poliorcetes). After discussing with Demetrius the autonomy (of the city) and his personal safety, he obtained a safe-conduct, and giving up his position in Athens he fled to Thebes, and afterwards to Ptolemy in Egypt. In this manner, after having been at the head of the government of the city for a period of ten years, he was expelled from his country. The people of the Athenians thus got back their freedom and voted honorary awards to those responsible for (recovering) the autonomy.

¹ I.e., 307/6. The Roman consuls were Ap. Claudius C. f. Ap. n. Caecus and L. Volumnius C. f. C. n. Flamma Violens.

Philochorus in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, On Dinarchus 3.4–5 (CB 5.126.11–22 Aujac)

In the *History of Attica* Philochorus says the following about the exile of the men who brought down the democracy¹ and about their return again: "Straightway at the beginning of the year that

² Demetrius had been equipped by his father Antigonus with a large expeditionary force (D.S. 20.45.1).

³Ptolemy I Soter.

⁴Cp. Plu. *Demetr*. 10.2. In Diodorus' account, Demetrius attacked Munychia next and captured it after two days (20.45.5–7). After that 'liberty' was officially restored to the Athenians, and then Demetrius took Megara (46.1–3). For the discrepancies between Plutarch (29) and Diodorus (30), see Jacoby *FGrH* III b Suppl. I 341–5 on Philochorus 328 F 66.

ἄρχοντος, εὐθὺ μὲν ἡ τῶν Μεγαρέων πόλις ἑάλω· ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος [ὁ] κατελθὼν ἐκ τῶν Μεγάρων κατ- 5 εσκευάζετο τὰ πρὸς τὴν Μουνυχίαν καὶ τὰ τείχη κατασκάψας ἀπέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ. ὕστερον δὲ εἰσηγγέλθησαν πολλοὶ ⟨τῶν⟩ πολιτῶν, ἐν οἷς καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς. τῶν δ' εἰσαγγελθέντων οὓς μὲν οὐχ ὑπομείναντας τὴν κρίσιν ἐνεθανάτωσαν τῆ ψήφῳ, οὺς δ' 10 ὑπακούσαντας ἀπέλυσαν." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῆς ὀγδόης.

1–11 228 T 4b FGrH = Philoch. 328 F 66 FGrH (cf. III b Suppl. I 340–5) 3 'Αναξικράτους] cf. **23E**.6–7; **30**.1–2 9–10 τῶν δ'—ψήφω] cf. **1**.24–5; **23E**.8

2 φυγής τῶν καταλυσάντων Sylburg coll. D.H. Din. 2.5: αὐτής τῶν καλεσάντων F 5 ὁ del. Wilhelm 8 τῶν add. Krueger 10 ἐθανάτωσαν Krueger seq. Aujac 11 τῆς ὀγδόης] ⟨ἐκ⟩ τῆς ὀγ. Marenghi seq. Aujac

Exilium

cf. **1**.34–6; **2**.11; **19**.14–15; **20B**.3; **23E**.6–8; **35**.6–7; **36**.11; **39**

Plutarchus, Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur 28 69C-D (BT 1.138.18-139.1 Gärtner)

λέγεται δὲ καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ὅτε τῆς πατρίδος ἐξέπεσε καὶ περὶ Θήβας ἀδοξῶν καὶ ταπεινὰ πράττων διῆγεν, οὐχ ἡδέως ἰδεῖν προσιόντα Κράτητα, παρρησίαν κυνικὴν καὶ λόγους τραχεῖς προσδεχόμενος ἐντυχόντος δὲ πράως αὐτῷ τοῦ Κράτητος καὶ δια-5 λεχθέντος περὶ φυγῆς ὡς οὐδὲν ἔχοι κακὸν οὐδ' ἄξιον φέρειν βαρέως πραγμάτων σφαλερῶν καὶ ἀβεβαίων ἀπηλλαγμένον, ἄμα δὲ θαρρεῖν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῆ διαθέσει παρακαλοῦντος, ἡδίων γενόμενος καὶ ἀναθαρρήσας πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπε "φεῦ τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων 10 καὶ ἀσχολιῶν δι' ας ἄνδρα τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἔγνωμεν."

λυπουμένω γὰρ μῦθος εὐμενὴς φίλων, ἄγαν δὲ μωραίνοντι νουθετήματα.

Anaxicrates was archon,² the city of the Megareans was taken. Demetrius (Poliorcetes) came back from Megara and started operations against Munychia. He razed its walls to the ground and restored it to the people.³ Later many of the citizens were impeached, and among them there was also Demetrius of Phalerum. Of those impeached some did not await the verdict of their trial and were condemned to death by vote; others submitted and were set free." This is from the eighth book.⁴

- ¹ I.e., "the partisans of Demetrios of Phaleron whom he [D.H.] calls comprehensively and quite correctly οἱ καταλύσαντες τὸν δῆμον" Jacoby FGrH III b Suppl. I 340.
 - ² I.e., 307/6.
 - ³ On the sequence of events, cp. note 5 to **29** and note 4 to **30**.
- ⁴ Despite the use of quotation marks, it is doubtful that the words accurately represent what Philochorus wrote. See von Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 34 (1899) 624 [KS IV 95]; Jacoby FGrH III b Suppl. I 341.

Exile

cp. 1.34-6; 2.11; 19.14-15; 20B.3; 23E.6-8; 35.6-7; 36.11; 39

Plutarch, How to tell a Flatterer from a Friend 28 69C-D (BT 1.138.18-139.1 Gärtner)

Of Demetrius of Phalerum too¹ it is said that when he was banished from his country and living near Thebes in obscurity and humble circumstances, he was not happy to see Crates approach him; for he expected cynical outspokenness and harsh words from him. Crates, however, met him in a friendly way and talked with him about exile, (saying) that there was no harm in it and it was not worth being troubled about, because it meant being freed from perilous and unstable conditions. At the same time he exhorted him to have confidence in himself and his own disposition. Demetrius' mood changed for the better; he took courage and said to his friends "How I regret those affairs and demands which kept us from getting to know such a man!"

For when in distress, one needs a kindly word from friends; when making too much of a fool of oneself, their admonitions.

οδτος ὁ τρόπος τῶν γενναίων φίλων.

1–11 Crates Thebanus V H 34 SSR II 536 Giannantoni 1–3 228 T 5 FGrH 2 ἐξέπεσε] cf. **26**.2; **30**.26 || περὶ Θήβας] cf. **29**.32; **30**.24 12–13 Eur. F 962,2–3 N.² = F 1380 Mette, Lustrum 13 (1968) 325; cf. Sotion ap. Stob. 4 48b.30; Plu. Cons. ad Apol. 1 102B

6 ἔχει ΠΝhD 7 ἀβεβαίων ΓΚ: βαρέων hSD: βιαίων O 8 ἀπηλλαγμένος Larsen \parallel ἐφ' om. SD, Bernardakis 12 γὰρ] μὲν Stob. et Plu. Mor. 102B \parallel φίλωι G^I : φίλου Stob.

Sosicrates ap. Athenaeum, *Deipnosophistae* 10.19 422C-D (BT 2.418.19-22 Kaibel)

καὶ Κράτης δ' ὁ κυνικός, ὡς φησι Σωσικράτης ἐν ταῖς

D Διαδοχαῖς, ἐπερράπισε Δημήτριον τὸν Φαληρέα σὺν τῆ πήρα τῶν ἄρτων καὶ λάγυνον πέμψαντα οἴνου· "εἴθε γάρ, ἔφη, τὰς κρήνας καὶ ἄρτους ἦν φέρειν."

1-4 Ath. Epit. (2.2.30.3-5 Peppink); Sosicrates Rhodius F 13 Giannattasio Andria = Crates Thebanus V H 33 SSR II 536 Giannantoni

Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 6.90 (OCT 2.287.24-6 Long)

58a w Δημήτριον τὸν Φαληρέα πέμψαντα αὐτῷ ἄρτους καὶ οἶνον ἀνείδισεν εἰπών, "εἴθε γὰρ αἱ κρῆναι καὶ ἄρτους ἔφερον." δῆλον οὖν ὡς ὕδωρ ἔπινεν.

1-3 Crates Thebanus V H 33 SSR II 536 Giannantoni

*34 Ioannes Tzetzes, *Historiae* 4.740; 747–8 (155 Leone)

ὧ τῶν στροφῶν τῆς τύχης.

'Ο Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος μέγας καὶ τιμητέος, ἀλλ' ὕστερον εἰς Κόρινθον ἀτίμως γραμματεύει.

Such is the way of true friends.

¹ Plutarch has just used the example of small children, who in falling hurt themselves, and are picked up and soothed by their nurses, only to be scolded afterwards.

33A Sosicrates in Athenaeus, Sophists at Dinner 10.19 422C-D (BT 2.418.19-22 Kaibel)

According to Sosicrates in his Successions, Crates, the Cynic, too severely rebuked Demetrius of Phalerum for sending him together with a bag of loaves of bread also a flask of wine. He said "I wish it were possible for the springs to bring forth loaves of bread as well."

¹ In the preceding quotation from Diphilus' *Parasite* (422B–C) the expressions "bag of loaves" and "flask of wine" are also used.

33B Diogenes Laertius, The Lives of the Philosophers 6.90 (OCT 2.287.24–6 Long)

When Demetrius of Phalerum sent him (Crates) loaves of bread and wine, he (Crates) chided him saying "I wish the springs brought forth loaves of bread as well." Clearly, his beverage was usually water.¹

¹ This saying of Crates is followed by one concerning Theophrastus (= no. 23 FHS&G).

*34 Joannes Tzetzes, *Histories* 4.740; 747–8 (155 Leone)

Ah, the changes of fortune! (...¹) The Phalerean Demetrius was a great man and worthy of honor, but later he (went) to Corinth to work (there) without honor as a secretarial hack.

¹ As further instances Tzetzes names Hannibal, Themistocles and Eumenes.

61 W

Refugium in Aegypto

cf. 1.34–44; 74; 2.11–14; 19.14–15; 20B.3; 42; 58A–66

35 Plutarchus, *De exilio* 7 601F–602A (BT 3.518.11–21 Paton et al.)

πλοῦτον μὲν γὰρ ἀποβαλόντα ῥαδίως οὐκ ἔστι καὶ ταχέως ἄλλον συναγαγείν, πατρίς δὲ γίνεται πᾶσα πόλις εὐθὺς ἀνθρώπω χρῆσθαι μεμαθηκότι καὶ ῥίζας ἔχοντι πανταχοῦ ζῆν τε καὶ τρέφεσθαι καὶ παντὶ τόπω προσφύεσθαι δυναμένας, οίας είχε Θεμιστοκλής οίας 5 Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ἐν ᾿Αλεξανδρεία μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν πρῶτος ὢν τῶν Πτολεμαίου φίλων οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐν ἀφθόνοις διῆγεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις δωρεὰς ἔπεμπε, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ χορηγία βασιλικῆ 602A πρυτανευόμενος είπειν λέγεται πρός τὴν γυναικα καὶ 10 τούς παίδας "ἀπωλόμεθ' ἄν, εί μὴ ἀπωλόμεθα."

> 1-3 Stob. 3.40.3.4 6-9 228 T 6a FGrH 7 μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν] cf. 19.14–15 | πρῶτος—φίλων] cf. 1.36–7; 51–3; 37; 38 11 Teles 22.14-23.1 et v. quae collegit Nachstädt ad Plu. Reg. et imp. apophthegm. 17 185F

2 ἄλλον Stob.: om. codd. 4 τόπω Ald.²: τρόπω codd.

36 Cicero, De Finibus 5.19.53-4 (BT 13.182.22-183.11 Schiche)

> ac veteres quidem philosophi in beatorum insulis fingunt qualis futura sit vita sapientium, quos cura omni liberatos, nullum necessarium vitae cultum aut paratum requirentis, nihil aliud esse acturos putant, nisi ut omne tempus inquirendo ac discendo in naturae cognitione consumant. 5 nos autem non solum beatae vitae istam esse oblectationem videmus, sed etiam levamentum miseriarum. itaque multi, cum in potestate essent hostium aut tyrannorum, multi in custodia, multi in exilio dolorem suum doctrinae studiis levaverunt. princeps huius civitatis Phalereus Demetrius 10 cum patria pulsus esset iniuria, ad Ptolomaeum se regem Alexandream contulit. qui cum in hac ipsa philosophia, ad

62 W

53

Refuge in Egypt

cf. 1.34-44; 74; 2.11-14; 19.14-15; 20B.3; 42; 58A-66

35 Plutarch, *On Exile* 7 601F–602A (*BT* 3.518.11–21 Paton *et al.*)

Having lost one's wealth one cannot amass another fortune easily and quickly. But any city becomes a person's homeland straight away if he knows how to make use (of it) and has roots that can live and find nourishment to grow on anywhere and strike in any place, such as Themistocles had, such as Demetrius of Phalerum had. For the latter lived in Alexandria after his exile, first amongst the friends of Ptolemy, not only enjoying abundance himself, but even sending gifts to the Athenians. And Themistocles, while being supported by the bounty of the (Persian) king, is reported to have spoken to his wife and children: "We would have been ruined, if we had not been ruined."

36 Cicero, *On Ends* 5.19.53–4 (*BT* 13.182.22–183.11 Schiche)

And the old philosophers do indeed picture to themselves the sort of life the wise men will have in the islands of the blessed: these, they think, will be freed from all sorrow; they will not require any tending to or provision of the necessities of life, and will do nothing but spend all their time in doing research and acquiring knowledge in the study of nature. We, however, realize that there is not only this delight inherent in the blessed life, but also a way of alleviating one's misery. That's why many, when they are in the power of enemies or tyrants, many when in prison, many when in exile, have alleviated their sorrow by learned studies. The leader of this state.¹ Demetrius of Phalerum, when he had been unjustly expelled from his country, went to King Ptolemy in Alexandria. Since he excelled in this very philosophy which we

¹ Ptolemy I Soter, who reigned 306/4-283/2.

² Possibly in 287, when Athens was liberated from Demetrius Poliorcetes, with the support of Ptolemy.

³ Xerxes I (cp., e.g., Thuc. 1.138.5).

quam te hortamur, excelleret Theophrastique esset auditor, multa praeclara in illo calamitoso otio scripsit non ad usum aliquem suum, quo erat orbatus, sed animi cultus ille erat ei quasi quidam humanitatis cibus.

10–16 228 T 7 FGrH 10 princeps—civitatis] v. ad **16A**.15–17 12–16 v. sub 'Iudicia' 13 Thphr. no. 18.5 FHS&G; v. **8**

2 futura Leclerc: natura codd. 5 inqrendo E: in querendo RV: inquerendo N 12 ipsa om. BE 14 scripsit ed. Veneta 1494: scribit codd.

37 Philodemus, *De rhetorica, PHerc.* 1004, col. 101, 6–16 (BT 1.377–8 Sudhaus)

καὶ συνανα[στ]ρεφομένους ἐ[λ]εοῦσιν, οὐ μόνον θαυμάζουσι, καὶ
δήμων μᾶλλον, ὡς Πύ10 θωνα Φίλιππος καὶ τὸν
Φαληρέα Δημήτριον
Πτολεμαῖος καὶ πολλοὶ
πλείονας [ἄ]λλους καὶ ἀριστοκρα[τί]αι καὶ συν15 εδρίαι, πο[λ]λὰ παρεδέξ]ατο τῶν [ῥ]ητόρων τι ...

63 W

ante haec verba habet pap. 2–5 αι ὁ ἡ[ήτωρ ? Ι — ρο. [καὶ διὰ] τὰ[ς ὁμοίας ἀ]ρετὰς [χαΙρί]εντα[ς πολ]λ[ο]ὑ[ς δυνα]σταὶ Sudhaus 6–16 Sudhaus

Plutarchus, Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata 189D (BT 2.54.12–16 Nachstädt et al.)

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ Ο ΦΑΛΗΡΕΥΣ

Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ παρήνει τὰ περὶ βασιλείας καὶ ἡγεμονίας βιβλία κτᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν· "ὰ γὰρ οἱ φίλοι τοῖς βασι-

urge you² to pursue, and (since) he was a student of Theophrastus,³ he wrote many excellent things in that miserable retirement, not for any practical use of his own, for he was debarred from affairs; no, this cultivation of the mind was to him as it were a sustenance of his humanity.

- ¹ The dialogue is here set in the Academy at Athens, with M. Pupius Piso expounding the Peripatetic theory.
 - ² Cicero.
- ³Ptolemy had had relations with Theophrastus too (D.L. 5.37 = Thphr. no. 1 FHS&G).
- **37** Philodemus, *On Rhetoric*, *PHerc*. 1004, col. 101, 6–16 (*BT* 1.377–8 Sudhaus)

...and show mercy on ...living with them, not only admire (them), even more than democracies, as Philip (did) with Python¹ and Ptolemy with Demetrius of Phalerum and many (did) with many others both aristocracies and councils, often accepted something from the orators ...

¹ This could be either Python of Aenus, who served Philip II, king of Macedonia (Dem. 23.127), or Python of Byzantium, a pupil of Isocrates, who was sent by the same on an embassy to Athens in 343 (Dem. 18.136). Cp. Dorandi in this volume.

Plutarch, Sayings of Kings and Commanders 189D (BT 2.54.12–16 Nachstädt et al.)

DEMETRIUS OF PHALERUM

Demetrius of Phalerum advised King Ptolemy to acquire the books dealing with kingship and leadership, and to read them:

λεῦσιν οὐ θαρροῦσι παραινεῖν, ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις γέγραπται."

1–6 228 T 6b FGrH; Stob. 4.7.27 (4.255.10–14 Hense); App. Vat. I 49 (176.4–6 Sternbach), ubi ὁ αὐτὸς ad Democratem Parrhesiasten refert; Mel. Aug. 29 (Bar. f. 191b); Ars. 188.18–22 Walz 2–3 Πτολεμαίω—παρήνει] cf. 1.36–9; 51–3 4–6 ἃ γὰρ—γέγραπται] idem apophthegma Demetrio attribuitur in Max. 16 (PG 91.817.22–4 Combefis); Corp. Par. 476; Apost. 1.27^d (CPG 2.246.13–14 Leutsch)

Hieronymus, *Interpretatio Chronicorum Eusebii* ad Ol. 118,1–4 (GCS 24 [Eusebius 7] p. 127.3–6 Helm)

	Alexandr	inorum	Consules	Syriae	Macedo- num	Asiae	a. Chr.
64 W	CXVIII Olymp						
	XVII	Deme	trius Falereus ad	V	X	XI	308
MDCCX	XVIII	Ptolomaeum ueniens impe-		e- <u>VI</u>	<u>XI</u>	XII	307
	XVIIII	trauit,	ut Atheniensibus	VII	XII	XIII	306
	XX	demod	cratia redderetur	VIII	XIII	XIIII	305

4–7 cf. Anon. Matr. 39.10–12 Bauer: Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον ἦλθεν, ὃς καὶ 'Αθηναίοις τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀπέδωκε; cf. **20B** et v. ad **19**.10–11

40 Aelianus, *Varia historia* 3.17 (BT 46.26; 47.24–9 Dilts)

ἐπολιτεύσαντο οὖν καὶ φιλόσοφοι ... Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Φαληρεὺς καὶ 'Αθήνησιν ἐπιφανέστατα ἐπολιτεύσατο, ἔστ' [αν] αὐτὸν ὁ συνήθης 'Αθηναίοις φθόνος ἐξέωσε καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ συνὼν τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ νομοθεσίας ἡρξε. τίς δὲ ἀντιφήσει καὶ Περικλέα τὸν Ξανθίππου φιλόσοφον γενέσθαι ...;

5

1-5 228 T 6c FGrH 1 φιλόσοφοι] cf. ad 2.3 2 ἐπιφ. ἐπολιτεύσατο] v. ad 16A.18-19 3 φθόνος] v. ad 1.22-4 4 νομοθεσίας] v. ad 20A.2

*41 *PLille* 88 (CPF I 1** 42 1T, p. 3–4 Linguiti)

τὸν Καλλι]σθένη δὲ καὶ τὸν [Φα]-

^{3 [}ầv] del. Hercher

"For the things their friends do not dare to offer to kings as advice, are written in these books."

¹ In this compilation of sayings (spurious?), one dictum of Demetrius of Phalerum is quoted between five of Pisistratus and five of Lycurgus.

2 Δ. ὁ Φ.] Δ. Φανοστράτου Φ. Ars.: ὁ αὐτὸς App. Vat. \parallel τῷ om. Σ

Hieronymus, Translation of Eusebius' Chronological Canons Ol. 118,1–4 (GCS 24 [Eusebius 7] p. 127.3–6 Helm)

Demetrius of Phalerum went to Ptolemy and obtained the restoration of democracy to the Athenians.¹

¹ The number MDCCX (1710) refers to the birth of Abraham. The entry is put in Olympiad 118, 308–305 B.C.; the other numbers refer to the reigns of Ptolemy I in Egypt; of Seleucus Nicanor in Syria; of Cassander in Macedonia; and of Antigonus in Asia.

ad CXVIII Ol. L, ad XVIII A, ad XXII B 2 inpetrauit A: inperabit L: impetravit ex imperavit P 4 democritia A: demogratia M

40 Aelian, *Miscellaneous History* 3.17 (*BT* 46.26; 47.24–9 Dilts)

As a matter of fact, philosophers too have participated in government ... Demetrius of Phalerum participated with the greatest distinction in government in Athens, until the customary envy of the Athenians drove him out; in Egypt too, where he was associated with Ptolemy, he was responsible for legislation. And who will deny that Pericles too, the son of Xanthippus, was a philosopher ...?¹

¹ Aelian lists a number of 'philosophers', who have either benefited their country or actively entered politics: Demetrius is preceded in this list by Zaleucus, Charondas, Archytas, Solon, Bias, Thales, Chilon, Pittacus, Cleobulus, Anaximander, Xenophon, Plato, Socrates, Aristotle.

*41 PLille 88 (CPF I 1** 42 1T, p. 3-4 Linguiti)

Callisthenes and Demetrius of Phalerum did not derive any

ληρέα Δημήτρι[ον]
οὐθὲν ἀφέλησεν [ἡ]
5 περὶ τοὺς λόγους δ[ει]νότης καὶ τὸ μεγ[α]λοπρεπὲς τῶν φ[ράσ]εων, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν π[αρ'] 'Αλεξάνδρω δια10 [β]ληθείς, ὁ δ' ἐναντ[
.]. τῷ παροφθεντ.[
].....ε.υτ.[

1–11 ed. C. Meillier, CRIPEL 5 (1979) 366–8; iterum ed. A. Linguiti, CPF I 1**, p. 3–5; de Callisthene Demetrioque comparatis cf. **42**.4–9–10 cf. **1**.36–42; 51–3

Aspide occisus

Cicero, Pro Rabirio Postumo 9.23 (BT 25.60.16-61.1 Olechowska)

virum unum totius Graeciae facile doctissimum, Platonem, iniquitate Dionysi Siciliae tyranni, cui se ille commiserat, in maximis periculis insidiisque esse versatum accepimus; Callisthenem doctum hominem comitem Magni Alexandri ab Alexandro necatum; Demetrium et ex re publica, Athenis quam optime gesserat, et ex doctrina nobilem et clarum, qui Phalereus vocitatus est, in eodem isto Aegyptio regno aspide ad corpus admota vita esse privatum.

1-4 Pl. Ep. 7; Plu. Dio 4-5; 10-16; 19-20 4-5 Callisthenes 124 T 19b FGrH; Arr. An. 4.14.3 = 124 T8 FGrH; cf. 41 5-9 FGrH II b 643 ad 228 T 1 6 Athenis—gesserat] v. ad 16A.18-19 7 nobilem et clarum] v. ad 14.5 8-9 aspide—privatum] cf. 1.42-3; 2.12-13

³ insidiisque Carbo: insidiis mediisque V: mediisque in insidiis Halm 6 Athenis del. Madvig: Atheniensi Lambinus || $quam suppl. V^{l}$ || Athenis—gesserat del. Halm, Abh. Bay. Ak. W. 7.3 (1855) 660–1 || $gesserat \ dett$.: $digesserat \ V$ 7 qui—est del. $Halm \ 1855$, 661 8 $egyptio \ ex \ egyptio \ ex \ egyptio \ dett$.: $Phario \ Turnebus$

benefit from their deft command of words and the splendor of their phrases; no, the former was slandered before Alexander, the latter ...¹

¹ The text is too damaged to admit of translation, but it appears to contain a reference to Demetrius' conflict with Ptolemy II; see note 2 on **42** and Dorandi in this volume.

Killed by an Asp

Cicero, In Defence of Rabirius Postumus 9.23 (BT 25.60.16–61.1 Olechowska)

We hear¹ that the man, who was easily the most learned man by far of the whole of Greece, Plato, was subjected to the greatest dangers and treacherous attacks through the iniquity of Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily, to whom he had entrusted himself; that Callisthenes, a learned man, companion of Alexander the Great, was murdered by Alexander; that Demetrius, called the Phalerean, a man renowned and famous both because of his excellent government of the Athenian state and because of his learning, was deprived of his life in that same kingdom of Egypt by an asp being applied to his body.²

⁹⁻¹⁰ fort. ὁ δ' ἐναντ[ίΙος] τῷ παροφθέντ[ι Meillier, vel ἐναντ[ίΙως]

¹ Cicero is making the point (22) that Postumus, a man not particularly learned, can hardly be blamed for making the same mistake extremely learned men like Plato, Callisthenes and Demetrius had made before him, i.e. that of entering royal service of their own accord.

² Under Ptolemy II Philadelphus, whose reign started in 283/2, Demetrius fell into disfavor; cp. Hermippus in D.L. 5.78 (= 1.40-3; 51-3).

Luxuria

43A Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 12.60 542B–543A (BT 3.195. 18–197.10 Kaibel)

Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Φαληρεύς, ὡς φησι Δοῦρις ἐν τῆ ἐκκαιδεκάτη τῶν Ἱστοριῶν, χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων ταλάντων κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν κύριος γενόμενος καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων βραχέα δαπανῶν εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως διοίκησιν τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον ἀκρασίαν ἠφάνιζεν, θοίνας καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν λαμπρὰς ἐπιτελῶν καὶ πλῆθός τι συνδείπνων ἔχων. καὶ ταῖς μὲν δαπάναις ταῖς εἰς τὰ δεῖπνα τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὑπερέβαλλε, τῆ δὲ καθαρειότητι Κυπρίους καὶ Φοίνικας ἡάσματά τε μύρων ἔπιπτεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἀνθινά τε το πολλὰ τῶν ἐδαφῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀνδρῶσιν κατεσκευάζετο διαπεποικιλμένα ὑπὸ δημιουργῶν.

ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς γυναῖκας ὁμιλίαι σιωπώμεναι καὶ νεανίσκων ἔρωτες νυκτερινοί, καὶ ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοις τιθέμενος θεσμοὺς Δημήτριος καὶ τοὺς βίους τάττων ἀνομοθέτητον ἑαυτῷ τὸν βίον κατεσκεύαζεν.

ἐπεμελεῖτο δὲ καὶ τῆς ὄψεως, τήν τε τρίχα τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ξανθιζόμενος καὶ παιδέρωτι τὸ πρόσωπον ὑπαλειφόμενος καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλείμμασιν ἐγχρίων ἑαυτόν · ἠβούλετο γὰρ τὴν ὄψιν ἱλαρὸς καὶ τοῖς ἀπαν- 20 τῶσιν ἡδὺς φαίνεσθαι.

έν δὲ τῆ πομπῆ τῶν Διονυσίων, ἣν ἔπεμψεν ἄρχων γενόμενος, ἦδεν ὁ χορὸς εἰς αὐτὸν ποιήματα Σείρωνος τοῦ Σολέως, ἐν οἷς ἡλιόμορφος προσηγορεύετο·

"ἐξόχως δ' εὐγενέτας ἡλιόμορφος ζαθέοις ἄρχων σε 25 τιμαῖσι γεραίρει."

Καρύστιος δὲ ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ἐν τρίτῷ Ύπομνημάτων "Δημήτριος," φησίν, "ὁ Φαληρεὺς Ἱμεραίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀναιρεθέντος ὑπ' ἀντιπάτρου αὐτὸς μετὰ Νικάνορος διέτριβεν, αἰτίαν ἔχων ὡς τὰ ἐπιφάνεια τοῦ 30 ἀδελφοῦ θύων. Κασάνδρῷ δὲ γενόμενος φίλος μέγα ἴσχυσεν. καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἦν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄριστον ὀξύβαφα παντοδαπὰς ἐλάας ἔχοντα καὶ τυρὸν νησιωτικόν. ὡς δ' ἐπλούτησε, Μοσχίωνα τὸν ἄριστον τῶν τότε

34 W

9 W

E

Profligate Living

43A Athenaeus, Sophists at Dinner 12.60 542B–543A (BT 3.195.18–197.10 Kaibel)

According to Duris in the sixteenth book of his *Histories*, Demetrius of Phalerum, when he had gained control over an income of twelve hundred talents a year, spent only a little out of this income on the army and the administration of the city; the remainder he completely squandered through his innate lack of self-control: every day he organized splendid parties with a great number of guests; in the costs of the dinners he surpassed the Macedonians; in their refinement (he surpassed) the Cyprians and Phoenicians. Showers of perfume fell on the ground and many of the floors in the men's quarters were decorated with flowers, arranged in colourful patterns by craftsmen.

There were also secret meetings with women and nocturnal love-affairs with young men. And thus Demetrius who was laying down laws for other people and regulating their lives, organized his own life with utter freedom from law.

His personal appearance was also a matter of concern to him: he dyed the hair on his head blond, and touched his face with rouge, and rubbed himself with the other anointing-oils. For he wanted to make a cheerful and pleasing impression by his outward appearance on all who met him.

During the procession at the Festival of Dionysus, which he organized while being archon, the chorus sang verses of Siron of Soli in his honor; in these he was spoken of as 'shaped like the sun':

E

"The archon, eminently well-born, shaped like the sun, honors thee with very sacred honours."

Carystius of Pergamon in the third book of his *Records* says: "When Himeraeus, the brother of Demetrius of Phalerum, had been killed by Antipater, Demetrius dwelt with Nicanor, being accused of offering sacrifices for his brother's epiphany.² By becoming a friend of Cassander he acquired great power. In the beginning his luncheon consisted of bowls of all kinds of olives and island cheese. But after he had become rich, he bought Moschion, the best of the cooks and caterers at that time. The

543A

μαγείρων καὶ δειπνοποιῶν ἐωνήσατο, καὶ τοσαῦτα ἦν τὰ 35 παρασκευαζόμενα καθ' ἡμέραν ὥστε χαρισαμένου τῷ Μοσχίωνι τὰ λείψανα Μοσχίων ἐν ἔτεσι δύο τρεῖς συνοικίας ἐωνήσατο παῖδάς τε ἐλευθέρους ὕβριζεν καὶ γυναῖκας τὰς τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων. ἐζηλοτύπουν δὲ πάντες οἱ παῖδες τὸν ἐρώμενον αὐτοῦ Δίογνιν· καὶ 40 τοσοῦτον ἦν τῷ Δημητρίῳ προσελθεῖν ὥστε μετ' ἄριστον αὐτοῦ περιπατήσαντος παρὰ τοὺς Τρίποδας συνῆλθον εἰς τὸν τόπον παῖδες ⟨οἱ⟩ κάλλιστοι ταῖς ἑξῆς ἡμέραις, ἵν' ὀφθεῖεν αὐτῷ."

1-44 Ath. Epit. (2.2.92.34-93.12 Peppink) [= EC], omissis 6-7 θοίνας---ἔχων, 10-12 ἀνθινά---δημιουργῶν, 27-35 Καρύστιος---έωνήσατο, 38-9 παιδάς—έπιφανεστάτων 1-26 Duris 76 F 10 10 ράσματά—γῆν] Eust. Od. 20.150 (2.231.43-232.1 *FGrH* Stallbaum) 14–15 ὁ—θεσμοὺς] v. ad **20A**.2 23–6 ἦδεν γεραίρει] Eust. Od. 6.163 (1.247.8–10 Stallbaum) 22 πομπη] cf. 24 ἡλιόμορφος] cf. 1.17-18; 2.8-9; 5.2-4 **89**.22–3 Castorio(n) Diehl III³ p. 67; PMG 845; SH no. 312; sed West GM 143 sub nomine 'Siron of Soloi' 27-44 Caryst. F 10 FHG IV 358 28-9 Ίμεραίου---ἀναιρεθέντος] cf. 13A-B 32 228 T 2a FGrH 31–2 Κασάνδρφ---ἴσχυσεν] v. ad **16A**. 15–17 36–8 χαρισαμένου ---έωνήσατο] Eust. Od. 1.140 (1.36.12-13 Stallbaum)

9 καθαρειότητι ΕC: καθαριότητι A 10 ἔπιπτεν A: πίπτειν ποιῶν EC | ἀνθινά Musurus: ἀθινά A 13 post γυναῖκας add. αὐτῷ EC 20 \longrightarrow

43B Aelianus, *Varia historia* 9.9 (BT 103.23–104.8 Dilts)

34 W

Δημήτριος ὁ πολιορκητης ήρει τὰς πόλεις καὶ τῆ ἑαυτοῦ τρυφῆ καταχρώμενος χίλια μὲν καὶ διακόσια τάλαντα πρόσοδον ἑαυτῷ περιεποιήσατο καθ΄ ἕκαστον ἔτος καὶ ἐκ τούτων ὀλίγα μὲν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐδαπάνα, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ εἰς τὴν ἀκολασίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. μύροις τε ἐρραίνετο [καὶ] αὐτῷ τὸ δάπεδον καὶ καθ΄ ἑκάστην ἔτους ὥραν τὰ ἐνακμάζοντα τῶν ἀνθῶν [ταῦτα] ὑπεσπείρετο αὐτῷ, ἵνα κατ΄ αὐτῶν βαδίζη. ἢν δὲ καὶ πρὸς γυναῖκας ἀκόλαστος καὶ νεανικοῖς ἔρωσιν ἐπεχείρει. ἔμελε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ καλῷ εἶναι εὐθετίζοντι τὴν τρίχα καὶ ξανθιζομένῳ καὶ ὑπαλειφομένῳ τὸ πρόσωπον παιδέρωτι. καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ ἐχρῆτο ἀλείμμασι, προσ-

meals that were prepared each day were so huge that out of the left-overs, which Demetrius gave to him by way of gratuity, Moschion bought three apartment houses within two years, and harassed freeborn boys and the wives of the most distinguished (citizens). All boys were jealous of his (Demetrius') beloved Diognis; and getting to meet Demetrius was so important to them that, when after lunch Demetrius went out for a walk along the Street of the Tripods, the best-looking boys assembled there day after day in order that they might be noticed by him."

¹ The procession took place on the 9th of the month Elaphebolion, i.e. in March 308.

ρος γὰρ add. καὶ EC 23 ὁ χορὸς EC: χορὸς A || εἰς αὐτὸν om. EC, 'immo εἰς τὸν θεὸν, εἰς Βάκχον' Meineke || Σείρωνος τοῦ Σολέως] Καστορίωνος Leopardi: ποίημα τὸ Καστορίωνος Page 24 ἐν οἷς] ἐν ῷ Page 25 ἡλιόμορφος Kuhn ex 24 (cf. Eust.): ἠπιόμοιρος A: ἠπιόμορφος EC || ζαθέοισ' Diehl || τιμαῖσι Meineke: τιμαῖς A: τιμαῖς σε Page || ζαθέοις—γεραίρει om. EC 28 ἱμαιρέου A: corr. man. rec. 30–1 'τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ glossema, fort. αὐτοῦ i.e. 'Αντιπάτρου' Kaibel 40 Θέογνιν Musurus 42 περιπατοῦντος EC 43 οἱ add. Kaibel ex EC

43B Aelian, Miscellaneous History 9.9 (BT 103.23-104.8 Dilts)

Demetrius Poliorcetes¹ captured the cities, and indulging his own luxuriousness acquired for himself an income of twelve hundred talents a year. Of this income he spent only a little on the army, the remainder on the satisfaction of his own immoderate desires. His floor was sprinkled with perfumes and in each season of the year the flowers that were in bloom at that time were strewn under his feet for him to walk on. He had an immoderate desire for women and engaged in love-affairs with young men. Being good-looking was important to him: he had his hair coiffured and dyed blond, touched his face with rouge and also used the other

² See Wehrli on F 9 p. 50; Bayer DPhA 8-9.

φιλοτιμούμενος τῆ ῥαθυμία.

1-13 falso de Demetrio Poliorceta; cf. Ael. VH 3.16; 12.17

1 πολιορκητής Vx: Φαληρεύς Dilts ex Ath. || ήρει τὰς πόλεις καὶ seclus. Dilts coll. VH 3.16 5 ἀκολασίαν x: ἀκρασίαν V Ath. 6 καὶ del. Korais || αὐτῷ V: αὐτὸ x || καὶ om. V 7 ταῦτα del. Hercher 12 ἐχρῆτο Vx: ἐχρίετο Korais ex Ath. seq. Dilts

Demetrius et Menander

Phaedrus, Fabulae Aesopiae 5.1 (CSLP 79 Guaglianone)

Demetrius rex et Menander poeta.

Demetrius qui dictus est Phalereus, Athenas occupavit imperio improbo. ut mos est vulgi, passim et certatim ruit: "feliciter!" succlamant. ipsi principes illam osculantur, qua sunt oppressi, manum, tacite gementes tristem fortunae vicem. quin etiam resides et sequentes otium, ni defuisse noceat, repunt ultimi; in quis Menander, nobilis comoediis quas, ipsum ignorans, legerat Demetrius et admiratus fuerat ingenium viri, unguento delibutus, vestitu fluens, veniebat gressu delicato et languido. hunc ubi tyrannus vidit extremo agmine: "quisnam cinaedus ille in conspectum meum audet venire?" responderunt proximi: "hic est Menander scriptor." mutatus statim: "homo" inquit "fieri non potest formosior."

5

10

15

2–19 Men. T9 Koerte; cf. 1.53–7 2–3 228 T 3f FGrH; v. ad 16A.15–17 15 tyrannus] cf. 17.7

² Demetrius rex GuVi 5 principes P^2NV : principis PGuVi 9 repunt NV: repetunt PRo 12 admiratus P^2NV : miratus P 16 conspectum meum NV: conspectu meo PRo 18 mutato statu V 19 homo—formosior V: om. PVi

anointing-oils, devoting himself to his leisure pursuits.²

Apparently Aelian confused the two Demetrii. The opening "Demetrius Poliorcetes captured the cities" clearly refers to Demetrius Poliorcetes (cp. VH 3.16), but the remainder is so similar to the passage by Duris cited in Athenaeus (43A.1-21) that it must refer to Demetrius of Phalerum. In VH 12.17 Aelian mentions the relationship between what appears to be Demetrius Poliorcetes and the courtesan Lamia (cp. 1.15 and 6). See Jacoby FGrH II C 119 on Duris 76 F 10.

² The entry on Demetrius is preceded by one on Dionysius and followed by one on Plato.

Demetrius and Menander

44 Phaedrus, Aesopic Fables 5.1 (CSLP 79 Guaglianone)

King Demetrius and the Poet Menander.

Demetrius who is called 'the Phalerean' holds Athens in the grip of a bad reign. As is the way of the mob, in every direction it rushes eagerly: "What good luck!" they shout. The very leaders kiss the hand that holds them oppressed, while secretly bemoaning the sad turn of fortune. And what's more, inert and pursuing their own leisure, they are the last to crawl forth to avoid the danger of being absent. In their midst was Menander, noted for his comedies. Demetrius, not personally acquainted with him,1 had read these (comedies) and was full of admiration for the genius of the man. There came (Menander), besmeared with perfume, his robes flowing, with delicate and languid tread. As soon as the dictator saw him at the end of the train, "Who is that lewd person who dares to come into my presence?" Those standing closest to him answered: "It is Menander, the writer." Demetrius is transformed on the spot: "Handsomer man," he says, "there cannot be."

¹ Menander was a pupil of Theophrastus too (D.L. 5.36 = Thphr. no. 18.12 FHS&G).

Testimonia incerti temporis

Polyaenus, *Strategemata* 3.15 (BT 155.23–156.2 Woelfflin & Melber)

8w Δημήτριος Φαληρεύς συλλαμβάνεσθαι μέλλων ὑπὸ τοῦ Θρακῶν βασιλέως κατακρύψας αὑτὸν ἐς ἄμαξαν χορτοφόρον ἐς τὴν ὅμορον χώραν διεσώθη.

1-3 Exc. Polyaen. 52.4 (BT 491.21-2 Woelfflin & Melber); FGrH II b 643 ad 228 T 1

1 Δ. Φ.] Δ., Φαληρεὺς omisso, F (archetypus) $Exc.: \Delta. \dot{o}. \Phi. vulg.$ ὅμορον] ἰδίαν Exc.

*46 Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum 30.325, no. 2

- 1 Πλείσταρχον
- 2 Εὐπόλεμον
- 3 Κάσσα[ν]δρον
- 4 Δημήτ[ριον]
- 5 Φ[αλ]η[ρέα]

inversum: $\Pi \Lambda EI[\Sigma]TEA$

6 [.¹-².]KNH . [.¹-³. .] Πειρ(α)ιέα

1-6 'ATHENS. DEFIXIONES. ... two lead tablets found in a well in the Kerameikos which also contained many tablets of the Athenian cavalry'; ed. pr. K. Braun, AM 85 (1970) 197-8 (phot. tab. 93,1); iterum ed. D.R. Jordan, MDAI(A) 95 (1980) 229-36; cf. D.R. Jordan, GRBS 26 (1985) no. 14 p. 157; John G. Gager, Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World, 1992, no. 57 p. 145-6

1–6 Jordan 4 Δ MHT ed. pr. 5 Φ H ed. pr.: an Φαλη(ρέα) \longrightarrow

47 Suda, s.v. Λύκος (no. 814, LG 1.3.295.28–31 Adler)

Λύκος, ὁ καὶ Βουθήρας, Ὑρηγῖνος, ἱστορικός, πατὴρ Λυκόφρονος τοῦ τραγικοῦ, ἐπὶ τῶν διαδόχων γεγονὼς καὶ ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως. οὖτος ἔγραψεν ἱστορίαν Λιβύης, καὶ περὶ Σικελίας.

1–4 Lycus Rheginus 570 T 1 FGrH 1–2 Lycophron T 4 TrGF I 274 3 ἐπιβουλευθεὶς] cf. 1.24

Of Uncertain Date

45 Polyaenus, *Military Stratagems* 3.15 (*BT* 155.23–156.2 Woelfflin & Melber)

Demetrius of Phalerum, on the point of being arrested by the king of the Thracians, hid himself in a wagon carrying fodder and escaped safely into the neighbouring country.¹

¹ In book 3, Polyaenus mentions Demetrius of Phalerum among a number of Greek *strategoi*; he cites one stratagem of Demetrius. In the excerpt it is listed under the heading "Escape of one man or woman." Wehrli p. 50 ad F 8 tentatively puts this episode at the end of the Lamian War; Martini, *RE* 4 (1901) 2821 after Cassander's death in 297.

*46 Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum 30.325, no. 2

Plistarchus,¹ Eupolemus,² Cassander, Demetrius of Phalerum, ... of Piraeus.³

³ In 1. 6 only the demotic appears to be preserved of a fifth intended victim of the curse. On the date of the tablet, see Braun 197–8 (313); Jordan 235–6 (between 313 and 307); and Chr. Habicht, *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece*, 1985, 77–82 (304; cp. Tracy *ADT* 43⁴⁰).

legendum; cf. IG II² 1883 inversum Π.Ε..ΤΡΑ ed. pr. 6 \(\lambda\text{NH}\) ΓΕΜΕΑ ed. pr.

47 Suda, under Lycus (no.814, LG 1.3.295.28–31 Adler)

Lycus, also (called) Boutheras, of Rhegium, a historian, father of Lycophron the tragedian. He lived in the time of the Successors and was plotted against by Demetrius of Phalerum. He wrote a history of Libya, and also on Sicily.

¹ Perhaps this episode is to be put in the time of **35**.6–9 (Jacoby *FGrH* II b 645 on T 6a).

¹ Plistarchus was a brother of Cassander (Plu. Demetr. 31.4).

² Eupolemus was one of Cassander's generals, who was appointed *strategos* for Greece in 312 (D.S. 19.77.6; cf. 20.112; Paus. 1.15.1); Plistarchus at that time was appointed commander of the Macedonian garrison in Chalcis (D.S. 19.77.6).

³ τοῦ om. GM

Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 2.101 (OCT 1.99.13-20 Long)

ὁ δ' οὖν Θεόδωρος προσκαθίσας ποτὲ Εὐρυκλείδη τῷ ἱεροφάντη, "λέγε μοι," ἔφη, "Εὐρυκλείδη, τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ ἀσεβοῦντες περὶ τὰ μυστήρια;" εἰπόντος δ' ἐκείνου, "οἱ τοῖς ἀμυήτοις αὐτὰ ἐκφέροντες," "ἀσεβεῖς ἄρα," ἔφη, "καὶ σύ, τοῖς ἀμυήτοις διηγούμενος." καὶ μέντοι παρ' δ ὀλίγον ἐκινδύνευσεν εἰς "Αρειον ἀχθῆναι πάγον, εἰ μὴ Δημήτριος αὐτὸν ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐρρύσατο. 'Αμφικράτης δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν φησι κώνειον πιεῖν αὐτὸν καταδικασθέντα.

1-9 Theod. IV H 13 SSR II 125 Giannantoni 1-7 Ars. 297.17-23
Walz 1-5 Aristipp. F 263 Mannebach; Clinton, SOEM no. 8 p. 212 5-9 Ps.-Hsch. Mil. 35 (BT 29.7-10 Flach) = Theod. T 3B
Winiarczyk; Aristipp. F 265 Mannebach; Theod. T 3A Winiarczyk 79 Amphicr. F 2 FHG IV 300

6 άχθηναι BPF: ἀναχθηναι DGTW

Myronianus ap. Diogenem Laertium, Vitae philosophorum 4.14 (OCT 1.172.6–10 Long)

'Αθηναῖοι δ' ὅμως αὐτὸν ὄντα τοιοῦτον ἐπίπρασκόν ποτε, τὸ μετοίκιον ἀτονοῦντα θεῖναι. καὶ αὐτὸν ἀνεῖται Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς καὶ ἑκάτερον ἀποκατέστησε· Ξενοκράτει μὲν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, 'Αθηναίοις δὲ τὸ μετοίκιον. τοῦτό φησι Μυρωνιανὸς ὁ 'Αμαστριανὸς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἱστορικῶν ὁμοίων κεφαλαίων.

1-6 Xenocrates F 2 Isnardi p. 57-8 1-5 Ps.-Hsch. Mil. 50 (BT 40.12-16 Flach) 4 Ξενοκράτει] cf. 131A-C 5-6 Myronianus Amastrianus F 4 FHG IV 455

6 Ίστορικῶν FP: ἱστοριῶν Β

Demetrius Legislator

cf. 16B.12; 20A-B; 40.4; 43A.14-15; 58A.3; 104.18 de gynaeconomis vide 153 de eisangelia vide 96A-B

43 W

Diogenes Laertius, The Lives of the Philosophers 2.101 (OCT 1.99.13-20 Long)

However that may be, Theodorus once sat down beside Euryclides the hierophant¹ and said, "Tell me, Euryclides, who are the ones who commit sacrilege with respect to the Mysteries?" He answered, "Those who divulge them to the uninitiated." "Then you too," Theodorus said, "commit sacrilege by recounting them to the uninitiated." And, as a matter of fact, he was almost brought before the Areopagus,² if Demetrius of Phalerum had not rescued him. But according to Amphicrates in his *On Famous Men* he was convicted and drank hemlock.

- ¹ The hierophant was the High Priest of the cult of Demeter at Eleusis.
- ² Presumably on a charge of impiety; according to D.L. 2.102 Theodorus (called "the Godless") left Athens too and stayed with Ptolemy I.

Myronianus in Diogenes Laertius, *The Lives of the Philosophers* 4.14 (OCT 1.172.6–10 Long)

Still, once when he (Xenocrates) was unable to pay the tax imposed on resident aliens, the Athenians put him, though he was the man he was, up for sale. Demetrius of Phalerum both bought him and made restitution on both sides: to Xenocrates (he restored) his freedom and to the Athenians their tax. This is said by Myronianus of Amastris in the first book of his *Chapters of Historical Parallels*.

- ¹ This statement is preceded by a survey of Xenocrates' writings.
- ² Apparently metics—Xenocrates was from Calchedon (D.L. 4.6)—who did not pay their tax, were liable to a charge of 'not having a patron'. In case of conviction, their property could be confiscated and they themselves could be sold as slaves. According to Myronianus, Demetrius 'bought him' out by paying the tax. See D. Whitehead, *RhM* 124 (1981) 235–8 and Dorandi, *Festschrift W. Kullmann*, 1997, 277–8, and in this volume.

Demetrius Legislator

cp. 16B.12; 20A-B; 40.4; 43A.14-15; 58A. 3; 104.18 on the 'inspectors of women' see 153 on impeachment see 96A-B

Feriae Publicae

Plutarchus, *Praecepta gerendae reipublicae* 24 818C–D (BT 5.1.108.8–11; 14–21 Hubert)

δήμω δ' ὕβριν μὲν οὐδεμίαν εἰς πολίτας οὐδὲ δήμευσιν ἀλλοτρίων οὐδὲ κοινῶν διανέμησιν ὁ πολιτικὸς ἐφήσει κατὰ δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ πείθων καὶ διδάσκων καὶ δεδιττόμενος διαμαχεῖται ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐπιθυμίαις, ... ἐὰν δ' ἑορτὴν πάτριον οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ θεοῦ τιμὴν πρόφασιν λαβόντες ὁρμήσωσι πρός τινα θέαν ἢ νέμησιν ἐλαφρὰν ἢ χάριν τινὰ φιλάνθρωπον ἢ φιλοτιμίαν, ἔστω πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἄμα καὶ τῆς εὐπορίας ἀπόλαυσις αὐτοῖς. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς Περικλέους πολιτεύμασι καὶ τοῖς Δημητρίου πολλὰ τοιαῦτ 10 ἔνεστι, καὶ Κίμων ἐκόσμησε τὴν ἀγορὰν πλατάνων φυτείαις καὶ περιπάτοις·

9–10 Περικλέους] Plu. Per. 12 10 τοῖς Δημητρίου] cf. **43A**.22–6; **54**; **55A–B**; **89**.22–4 11 Κίμων] Plu. Cim. 13.5–7; Agora III no. 718 p. 219

Census Atheniensium

Ctesicles ap. Athenaeum, *Deipnosophistae* 6.103 272C (BT 2.104.18–24 Kaibel)

Κτησικλής δ' ἐν τρίτη Χρονικῶν †καὶ δεκάτη † πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν φησιν ὀλυμπιάδα 'Αθήνησιν ἐξετασμὸν γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν 'Αττικὴν καὶ εὑρεθῆναι 'Αθηναίους μὲν δισμυρίους πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις, μετοίκους δὲ μυρίους, 5

30 W

Public Festivals

50 Plutarch, *Political Precepts* 24 818 C–D (*BT* 5.1.108.8–11; 14–21 Hubert)

As far as lies in his power, a statesman will not allow the people any act of violence against fellow-citizens, no confiscation of other people's property nor yet distribution of public funds; on the contrary, he will combat such desires by persuasion and instruction and admonition, ... If, on the other hand, the masses find a pretext in a traditional festival in honour of a god and are bent on some spectacle or a small distribution or a boon for the welfare of the public or an act of private munificence, they should be allowed to enjoy the liberty and (to have) the means to do so. After all, there are many things of that sort among the public acts of Pericles and also of Demetrius, and Cimon too adorned the Agora having plane-trees planted and promenades laid out.¹

¹ Plutarch goes on to cite the instance of Cato who during the Catilinarian disturbances persuaded the Senate to distribute food among the poor.

Census of the Athenians

51 Ctesicles in Athenaeus, Sophists at Dinner 6.103 272C (BT 2.104.18-24 Kaibel)

According to Ctesicles in the third book of his *Chronicles*, a census of the inhabitants of Attica was held in Athens by Demetrius of Phalerum in the 11...th Olympiad;¹ the number of Athenian citizens was found to be 21,000, of resident aliens

οίκετῶν δὲ μυριάδας μ΄.

1–5 Stesiclides (Ctesicles) 245 F 1 FGrH; Ath. Epit. (2.1.115.1–4 Peppink) [= EC] 2 ἐξετασμὸν] cf. **16A**.15; de priore censu a. 322/1 cf. D.S. 18.18.5 et Plu. Phoc. 28.7

Nomophylakes

Pollux, *Onomasticon* 8.102 (LG 9.2.133.1–7 Bethe)

32 W 142 W

52

οἱ ἕνδεκα εἷς ἀφ' ἑκάστης φυλῆς ἐγίνετο, καὶ γραμματεὺς αὐτοῖς συνηριθμεῖτο. νομοφύλακες δὲ κατὰ τὸν Φαληρέα μετωνομάσθησαν. ἐπεμελοῦντο δὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, καὶ ἀπῆγον κλέπτας ἀνδραποδιστὰς λωποδύτας, εἰ μὲν ὁμολογοῖεν, θανατώσοντες, εἰ δὲ μή, εἰσάξοντες εἰς τὰ δικαστήρια, κἂν ἁλῶσιν, ἀποκτενοῦντες. τοῦ δὲ νομοφυλακίου θύρα μία χαρώνειον ἐκαλεῖτο, δι' ἡς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπήγοντο.

1–8 schol. Arethae in Pl. Phd. 59E (424.15–21 Greene) 1–7 οἱ ἕνδεκα] cf. Schol. Ar. V. 1108; Phot. 1.43–4 Porson; AB 1.250.4–9; Lex. Vind. no. 257 = Lex. Sabb. 58.22–7 = EM 338.31–8 1–3 228 F 26 FGrH 2 νομοφύλακες] cf. Anon. Argent. 24 (= 329 F 6 FGrH); Harp. v 19 (= Philoch. 328 F 64a FGrH); schol. in Aeschin. 3.13; schol. in Thuc. 5.47.9; Hsch. θ 78 Latte; Suda θ 266; v 487; οι 124 = Phot. 1.276 Porson (= 328 F 64bβ FGrH); Lex. Rhet. Cant. 22.1–10 Houtsma (= 328 F 64bα FGrH); AB 1.191.21–2 7 νομοφυλακίου] cf. Hsch. χ 217 Schmidt; Suda μ 1003; v 488; χ 140; Zen. 6.41 (CPG 1.173.8–9)

¹ φυλης] βουλης ABL 3 Φαληρέα] Φ. Δημήτριον schol Pl. || ἐπιμελοῦνται FS 6 εἰσάξοντες] ἑτάζοντες schol. Pl.

10,000, and of slaves 400,000.2

- ¹ The text is corrupt. The emendations reflect the assumed purpose of the census: a property census (cp. **16A**.15) in 317 or 316 (Jacoby); a census for military purposes either in 313 (Casaubon) or in 309/8 (Ste Croix); see M.H. Hansen, *Demography* 28–36.
- ² The number of slaves has been changed into 40,000 (Hume), 100,000 (Lauffer) or 20,000 (Dreizehnter). In this section (272B), however, the statement of Timaeus of Tauromenium (566 F 11b *FGrH*) that the Greeks were not in the habit of acquiring slaves, is refuted by Masurius who quotes a number of sources giving very large numbers of slaves, e.g. 460,000 for Corinth.

Guardians of the Law

52 Pollux, *Nomenclature* 8.102 (*LG* 9.2.133.1–7 Bethe)

The (board of) Eleven was composed of one man from each tribe, a secretary being included in this number. In the time of the Phalerean their name was changed to 'Guardians of the Law'. They took care of those in prison, and arrested thiefs, slave-dealers and robbers, to put them to death if they admitted (their crime), and if (they did) not, to bring them before the courts of justice, and if they were convicted, to execute them. One door of the office of the Guardians of the Law was called the door of Charon, through which (those convicted) were taken away on their way to death.¹

¹ On the 'door of Charon' see Agora III 149.

De Sepulcris

53 Cicero, *De Legibus* 2.25.62–27.67 (HT 20.83.25–85.23 Ziegler-Görler)

MARCUS. recte requiris. quos enim ad sumptus progressa iam ista res sit, in C. Figuli sepulcro uidisse <te> credo. minimam olim istius rei fuisse cupiditatem multa extant exempla maiorum. nostrae quidem legis interpretes, quo capite iubentur sumptum et luctum remouere a deorum Manium iure, hoc intellegant in primis, sepulcrorum magnificentiam esse minuendam.

nec haec a sapientissimis legum scriptoribus neglecta sunt. nam et †Athenis iam illo mores† a Cecrope ut aiunt permansit hoc ius terra humandi, quod quom proxumi fecerant obductaque terra erat, frugibus obserebatur, ut sinus et gremium quasi matris mortuo tribueretur, solum autem frugibus expiatum ut uiuis redderetur. sequebantur epulae quas inibant propinqui coronati, apud quos de mortui laude quom siquid ueri erat praedicatum—nam mentiri nefas habebatur—iusta confecta erant.

ostea quom, ut scribit Phalereus, sumptuosa fieri funera et lamentabilia coepissent, Solonis lege sublata sunt, quam legem eisdem prope uerbis nostri Xuiri in decimam tabulam coniecerunt. nam de tribus reciniis et pleraque illa Solonis sunt. de lamentis uero expressa uerbis sunt: "mulieres genas ne radunto neue lessum funeris ergo habento."

de sepulcris autem nihil est apud Solonem amplius quam "ne quis ea deleat neue alienum inferat," poenaque est, "si quis bustum—nam id puto appellari τύμβον—aut monimentum" inquit "aut columnam uiolarit deiecerit fregerit." sed post aliquanto propter has amplitudines sepulcrorum,

On Burials

53 Cicero, *On Laws* 2.25.62–27.67 (HT 20.83.25–85.23 Ziegler-Görler)

MARCUS: You are right to ask for that.¹ For you have seen, I believe, in the case of the tomb of C. Figulus² to what exorbitant outlay this business has already come. There exist many examples of our forefathers (which show) that of old there was very little inclination for that sort of thing. Indeed, the interpreters of our law need only to look at the clause in which they are ordered to remove outlay and mourning from the right of the Gods of the Nether World; then they will understand this above all, that the magnificence of tombs is to be diminished.

Nor have these things been neglected by the wisest legislators, for †in Athens too already customs†,3 it is said, this right of burying in earth has remained from Cecrops onwards. When the next of kin had performed this and the earth had been laid over (the body), the place was sown with grain, in order that the bosom and womb as it were of his mother be assigned to the deceased, but the soil, cleansed by grain, restored to the living. There followed a festive meal that the relations attended wearing garlands. In this company, when the deceased had received a speech of praise, if anything true could be said (in his praise)—for it was considered impermissible to utter a falsehood—the burial rites were performed.

Later, after funerals had begun to grow more sumptuous and full of laments, as the Phalerean writes, they were abolished by Solon's legal decree. Our own decemvirs⁴ have recorded this law in almost the same words in the tenth Table. For what it says about the three veils and most of the things written there are from Solon, but with reference to laments he has been followed to the letter: "Women shall not tear their cheeks, nor engage in wailing on account of a funeral."

On graves, however, there is nothing more in Solon than "that no one shall destroy them or place the body of another in them," and there is a penalty "in case any one violates," he says, "overturns or breaks a burial mound—which is what I take *tumbos* to refer to—or memorial or column." But a little later, on account of

66

quas in Ceramico uidemus, lege sanctum est, "ne quis sepulcrum faceret operosius quam quod decem homines effecerint triduo," neque id opere tectorio exornari nec hermas hos quos uocant licebat inponi, nec de mortui laude nisi in publicis sepulturis, nec ab alio nisi qui publice ad eam rem constitutus esset dici licebat. sublata etiam erat celebritas uirorum ac mulierum, quo lamentatio minueretur; auget enim luctum concursus hominum. quocirca Pittacus omnino accedere quemquam uetat in funus aliorum.

sed ait rursus idem Demetrius increbruisse eam funerum sepulcrorumque magnificentiam quae nunc fere Romae est. quam consuetudinem lege minuit ipse. fuit enim hic uir ut scitis non solum eruditissimus, sed etiam ciuis e re publica maxime tuendaeque ciuitatis paratissimus. is igitur sumptum minuit non solum poena sed etiam tempore: ante lucem enim iussit efferri. sepulcris autem nouis finiuit modum; nam super terrae tumulum noluit quid<quam> statui, nisi columellam tribus cubitis ne altiorem aut mensam aut labellum, et huic procurationi certum magistratum praefecerat.

haec igitur Athenienses tui.

8-47 228 F 9 FGrH; Solon F 72a Ruschenbusch = T 469 Martina 18 Solonis lege] cf. Cic. Leg. 2.23.59 (Solon F 72b Ruschenbusch = T 468 Martina); legem ap. Dem. 43.62 (Solon T 466 Martina); Plu. Sol. 21.5-7 (Solon F 72c Ruschenbusch = T 470 Martina) 19 in decimam tabulam] no. 40 RS II 704-11 20 de tribus reciniis] no. 40 X,3 RS II 705-6; cf. Cic. Leg. 2.23.59 et Plu. Sol. 21.6 21-2 mulieres—habento] no. 40 X,4 RS II 706-7; cf. Cic. Leg. 2.23.59 et Plu. Sol. 21.6 25 bustum] no. 40 X,9-10 RS II 711 28-30 ne quis—triduo] cf. Pl. Lg. 12 958E6-7 39-41 v. sub 'Iudicia' 41-2 is igitur sumptum minuit] cf. 1.11-12; 89.17-21; 115.9-13 44-5 nisi—labellum] cf. Pl. Lg. 12 958E8-959A1 46 magistratum] cf. Plu. Sol. 21.7

² processa iam esta (ista H^2)V: corr. edd. II te add. Madvig 4 extant exempla Madvig: extarent ampla V 9 Athenis iam illo mores A^1B^1H (mos ille H mg.): ille mos A^2B^2 : Atheniensium in more Ziegler: Athenis, <nostis> iam illos mores Vahlen: Athenis illorum more Büchner 10 hoc ius] corpus Stephanus: hucusque Ziegler II quod Turnebus: quam V 14 inibant Camerarius: inirant B^1H : inirent B^2A II quos Madvig: quas AB: quaque H 15 siquid Turnebus: niquid AB: uiquid H 16 iusta confecta Manutius: adiusta coniecta A^1H : adiuxta coniecta A^2B 17 quom Manutius: quam V II post Phalereus add. Demetrius Ziegler 19 Xviri Stephanus: suiri V 25 $\tau \circ \mu \beta$ ov aut] tum bona ut V \rightarrow

the huge dimensions of the tombs which we see in the Ceramicus, it was decreed by law that "no one shall build a more elaborate tomb than can be completed by ten men within three days" and that this tomb shall not be covered with decorations and there shall not be set up what are called Hermes pillars. Also speaking in praise of the deceased was not allowed except in public funerals nor by anyone except the person officially appointed to this function. Large gatherings of men and women were abolished in order to restrict lamentation, since mourning is increased by a gathering of people. This is the ground for Pittacus' prohibition against funerals being attended by any non-relatives.⁵

But again the same Demetrius says that the magnificence of funerals and graves increased to roughly what it is now in Rome, a custom on which he himself placed legal restrictions, for as you know he was not only a very learned person but also to the highest degree a citizen of his community, and most apt at governing the city. He restricted expenses not just by imposing a penalty but also by setting a time: he ordered that burials were to take place before the light of day. Moreover, he limited the size of new tombs: he did not wish to have anything erected above the mound of earth except a small column, not more than three cubits high, or a table or basin, and he appointed a magistrate specifically to look after this.

27 67 That's what your⁶ Athenians have done in this matter.

26 deiecerit dett.: iacerit AH: acerit B 31 hermas hos Stephanus: hermasos A: ermasos B: ernam hos H 35 auget Ursinus: huc $A^{I}H$: hunc A^{2} : huic B 36 alienorum Bake: alienum Ziegler 40–1 e r. p. maxime V: in r. p. -us Zumpt Ziegler 41 paratissimus V: perit. Stephanus Ziegler $\|$ is Madvig: isti $A^{I}BH$: iste A^{2} 42 poena: pecunia Plinval 43 nouis edd.: nobis V 44 noluit edd.: uoluit V $\|$ quidquam Lambinus: quod V

¹ In sections 59–62, Cicero has discussed the sumptuary regulations in the Twelve Tables regarding burials and Atticus has responded by saying that he would like to have regulations regarding tombs as well.

² Probably C. Marcius Figulus, consul in 64 B.C.; about his tomb nothing is known.

³ The text is corrupt, but the meaning clearly is that this "right of burying" has already existed in Athens from times immemorial.

⁴ I.e., the 'Ten-men'.

⁵ Pittacus of Mytilene (c. 650–570 B.C.).

⁶ See note 1.

33 W

33 W

Architectura

Vitruvius, *De Architectura* 7, praef.16–17 (CB 9.3–10 Liou-Zuinghedau)

Eleusine Cereris et Proserpinae cellam inmani magnitudine Ictinos dorico more sine exterioribus columnis ad laxamentum usus sacrificiorum pertexit. eam autem postea, cum Demetrius Phalereus Athenis rerum potiretur, Philo ante templum in fronte columnis constitutis prostylon fecit.

4 Demetrius—potiretur] v. ad 16A.15-17 || Philo] cf. 132

3 eam editio princeps: ea GHW: ei VS

Homeristae

Aristocles ap. Athenaeum, *Deipnosophistae* 14.12 620B (BT 3.367.15–18 Kaibel)

ότι δ' ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ ῥαψωδοὶ καὶ 'Ομηρισταὶ 'Αριστοκλῆς εἴρηκεν ἐν τῷ Περὶ χορῶν. τοὺς δὲ νῦν 'Ομηριστὰς ὀνομαζομένους πρῶτος εἰς τὰ θέατρα παρήγαγε Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς.

1-2 Aristocl. Hist. F 10 FHG IV 331 1-4 Ath. Epit. (2.2.127.32-4 Peppink)

Eustathius, Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem 24.482 (4.937. 18–24 van der Valk)

εἰκότως οὖν ὁ ποιητὴς ἐφιλεῖτο τοῖς γε τὸ καλὸν εἰδόσιν. ἱστοροῦνται γοῦν φιλόμηροι μάλιστα μὲν ὁ μέγας ᾿Αλέξανδρος, ἤδη δὲ καὶ Κάσανδρος, ὁ καὶ αὐτὸς Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς, οὕτω φιλῶν "Ομηρον ὡς διὰ στόματος, φασίν, ἔχειν τῶν ἐπῶν αὐτοῦ τὰ πολλά. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτος καὶ ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος, ὃς πρῶτος εἰς θέατρον παρήγαγε, φασί, ῥαψῳδοὺς τοὺς καὶ 'Ομη-

Architecture

Vitruvius, On Architecture 7, pref. 16–17 (CB 9.3–10 Liou-Zuinghedau)

In Eleusis the shrine of Ceres and Proserpine is of an immense size. Ictinus had it covered in Dorian manner without exterior columns, in order to provide ample room for making sacrifices. Later however, when Demetrius of Phalerum obtained supreme power in Athens, Philo made it into a prostyle building by having columns placed before the temple in front.²

- ¹ On the Telesterion, as designed by Ictinus, see G.E. Mylonas *Eleusis* 113-17.
- ² On the construction of the portico, started already in the 350's, see G.E. Mylonas *Eleusis* 130–5; E. Fabricius, *RE* 20,1 (1941) 58–9. It was dodecastyle and measured c. 54.50 m. by 11.35 m.

Homerists

55A Aristocles in Athenaeus, Sophists at Dinner14.12 620B (BT 3.367.15–18 Kaibel)

In On Choruses, Aristocles said that the rhapsodes were also called 'Homerists'. But those (who are) now named 'Homerists' were first introduced into the theatres by Demetrius of Phalerum.¹

¹ Athenaeus has just quoted Carystius about Cassander, who was so fond of the Homeric poems that he knew most of them by heart.

55B Eustathius, Commentary on Homer's Iliad 24.482 (4.937.18–24 van der Valk)

Thus it is understandable that the poet was loved especially by those who knew what is beautiful. Alexander the Great, for instance, is reported to have been a great lover of Homer; to give another example, Cassander, himself also king of the Macedonians, loved Homer so much, they say, as to know most of his verses by heart. Demetrius of Phalerum too shared this love for Homer: he was the first to introduce, they say, the rhapsodes who

ριστὰς καλουμένους, οἱ ἐμελῷδουν τὰ τοῦ Ὁμήρου, καθάπερ ἄλλοι τὰ Ἡσιόδου καὶ ᾿Αρχιλόχου καὶ ἑτέρων. ...

3 'Αλέξανδρος] Plu. Alex. 8.2 (= Onesicr. 134 F 38 FGrH) et 26.1–3; De Alex. fort. aut virt. 4 327F; Str. 13.1.27; Plin. H.N. 7.29(30).107 || Κάσανδρος] Caryst. ap. Ath. 14.12 620B (= F 8 FHG IV 358)

Iudicia

cf. Democharem ap. Polybium, *Historiae* 12.13.9-11 = 89.14-27

de iudicio Ciceronis cf. **36**.12–16; **42**.6–7; **53**.40–1; **56**.7–8; **57**.13–16; et *Epistulas ad Familiares* 16.22.2 (BT 603.13–20 Shackleton Bailey)

56 Cicero, *De Republica* 2.1.2 (CB 2.7.10–8.9 Bréguet)

is dicere solebat ob hanc causam praestare nostrae ciuitatis statum ceteris ciuitatibus quod in illis singuli fuissent fere quorum suam quisque rem publicam constituisset legibus atque institutis suis, ut Cretum Minos, Lacedaemoniorum Lycurgus, Atheniensium, quae persaepe commutata esset, tum Theseus, tum Draco, tum Solo, tum Clisthenes, tum multi alii, postremo exsanguem iam et iacentem doctus uir Phalereus sustentasset Demetrius, nostra autem res publica non unius esset ingenio sed multorum, nec una hominis uita sed aliquot constituta 10 saeculis et aetatibus.

5-8 228 T 3e FGrH 7-8 v. ad **16A**.15-17 8 doctus vir] v. ad **17**.8 ll sustentasset] v. ad **19**.10-11

Cicero, De Legibus 3.6.14 (HT 20.95.4–25 Ziegler-Görler)

ATTICUS, ain tandem? etiam a Stoicis ista tractata sunt?

16W

¹⁻⁹ haec verba Eust. ipse in codice L adiecit

² singulis P sed s exp. 3 quorum P^c : qui P || suam P^c : sua P 4 atque institutis] atque institutisset legibus atque institutis P sed tria prima verba exp. 10 uita P^c : ulla P

are also called 'Homerists' into the theatre. These men chanted the (verses) of Homer, as others those of Hesiod, Archilochus and others.

Judgments

cp. Demochares in Polybius, *Histories* 12.13.9-11 = 89.14-27 on Cicero's judgment cp. 36.12-16; 42.6-7; 53.40-1; 56.7-8; 57.13-16; and *To Friends* 16.22.2 (*BT* 603.13-20 Shackleton Bailey)

56 Cicero, On the State 2.1.2 (CB 2.7.10–8.9 Bréguet)

He (Cato¹) used to say that the constitution of our state surpassed (that of) other states for the following reason: In those (other states) it was generally individual persons who devised their own constitution, through their laws and institutions, as Minos (created the constitution) of the Cretans (and) Lycurgus (that) of the Spartans. (The constitution) of the Athenians, which has been changed very often, (was founded by) Theseus, then Draco, then Solon, then Cleisthenes, then many others. Finally, when it was already bloodless and prostrate,² it was revived by the learned man from Phalerum, Demetrius. Our constitution, on the other hand, was not established by the genius of one person, but of many, nor in the lifetime of one man, but during a number of centuries and generations.

57 Cicero, On Laws 3.6.14 (HT 20.95.4–25 Ziegler-Görler)

ATTICUS: Do you really mean it? Has this subject of yours been treated by the Stoics also?¹

¹ Scipio is speaking.

² This refers to the situation after the battle of Chaeronea in 338, the period of Macedonian domination.

postea a magno homine et in primis erudito, Panaetio. nam ueteres uerbo tenus acute illi quidem, sed non ad hunc usum popularem atque ciuilem, de re publica disserebant. ab hac familia magis ista manarunt Platone principe. post Aristoteles inlustrauit omnem hunc ciuilem in disputando locum, Heraclidesque Ponticus profectus ab eodem Platone. Theophrastus uero institutus ab Aristotele habitauit ut scitis in eo genere rerum, ab eodemque Aristotele doctus 10 Dicaearchus huic rationi studioque non defuit. post a Theophrasto Phalereus ille Demetrius, de quo feci supra mentionem, mirabiliter doctrinam ex umbraculis eruditorum otioque non modo in solem atque in puluerem, sed in ipsum discrimen aciemque produxit. nam et mediocriter 15 doctos magnos in re publica uiros, et doctissimos homines non nimis in re publica uersatos, multos commemorare possumus: qui uero utraque re excelleret, ut et doctrinae studiis et regenda ciuitate princeps esset, quis facile praeter hunc inueniri potest?

1–21 Thphr. no. 591 FHS&G 1–6 Panaetius F 48 van Straaten = T103 Alesse 5-12 Dicaearch. no. 86 Mirhady = F 67 Wehrli; Heraclid. Pont. F 143 Wehrli 4 Panaetio] *cf.* **110**.7 13 supra] 2.64-6 = 53.17-46 14-16 mirabiliter— T 8 FGrH produxit] *cf.* **121**.4–6

20

7 ab hac familia dett.: ad hanc familia V: ab Academia Haupt, sed cf. 1.55 ab illa Platonis familia 14-15 eruditorum quaeodioque (corr. in hodieque A^2)V, corr. edd. 18 nimis *Victorius:* minus *V*

Praefectus Bibliothecae Alexandrinae

testimonia de bibliotheca Alexandrina et de origine versionis LXX interpretum collecta sunt apud P. Wendland, Aristeae ad Philocratem Epistula, 1900, 96-166; R. Tramontano, La Lettera di Aristea a Filocrate, 1931, 165*–208*; R. Helm ad Hieronymum, Interpretatio Chronicorum Eusebii Ol. 124,2-3 (GCS 24 p. 370.43-371.20); A. Pelletier, La Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate (= Sources Chrétiennes, 89), 1962, 78–98; etiam cf. A.-M. Denis, 'La Lettre d'Aristée,' in: Introduction aux Pseudo-épigraphiques Grecs d'Ancien Testament (= Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigraphica, 1), 1970, 105–10

72 W

MARCUS: Not really, except by him (Dio) whom I just mentioned and later by a great man who was among the foremost in learning, Panaetius. For the old (Stoics) discussed the state intelligently, in so far as theory goes, but not, as here, with a view to things useful for the people and citizens. Those things have their origin more in this school led by Plato. Afterwards Aristotle clarified the whole topic of politics in discussion, as did Heraclides of Pontus, who also got his start from the same Plato. And Theophrastus, who was instructed by Aristotle, did indeed spend his time, as you know, in this kind of subject, and Dicaearchus, who was taught by the same Aristotle, did not neglect this area of thought and study either. Afterwards the well-known man from Phalerum whom I have mentioned earlier, Demetrius, a student of Theophrastus, admirably led learning out of the shady retreat and leisure of the erudite not just into the sunlight and the dust but into conflict itself and the line of battle: we can mention many men of modest learning who have occupied important positions in the state and many very learned men not too well at home in affairs of state, but whom besides this man can one readily find who is so strong on both scores that he is first both in the pursuit of learning and in ruling the state?

¹ Cicero has just said that on the topic of magistrates research has been done by Theophrastus, and even more carefully by Dio the Stoic.

Director of the Alexandrian Library

The testimonia on the Library of Alexandria and on the origin of the translation by the seventy interpreters have been collected by P. Wendland, Aristeae ad Philocratem Epistula, 1900, 96-166; R. Tramontano, La Lettera di Aristea a Filocrate, 1931, 165*-208*; R. Helm on Hieronymus, Translation of Eusebius' Chronological Canons Ol. 124,2-3 (GCS 24 p. 370.43-371.20); A. Pelletier, La Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate (= Sources Chrétiennes, 89), 1962, 78-98; cp. also. A.-M. Denis, 'La Lettre d'Aristée,' in: Introduction aux Pseudoépigraphiques Grecs d'Ancien Testament (= Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigraphica, 1), 1970, 105-10

Bibliotheca Alexandrina

Georgius Syncellus, *Ecloga Chronographica* p. 518 Dindorf (BT 329.3–8 Mosshammer)

17 W

Πτολεμαῖος οὖτος ὁ Φιλάδελφος πᾶσαν πανταχόθεν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, συμφορήσας βίβλον τῆς οἰκουμένης σπουδῆ τοῦ Φαληρέως Δημητρίου τρίτου νομοθέτου 'Αθηναίων, ἀνδρὸς παρ' Έλλησι σπουδαίου, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὴν Ἑβραίων γραφήν, ὡς προτέτακται, τὴν ἐν 'Αλεξανδρεία 5 βιβλιοθήκην καθίστησιν ρλβ' ὀλυμπιάδι, ἧς πληρουμένης τελευτᾳ. δέκα μυριάδες βίβλων ἦσαν, ὡς τινές φασιν.

3 τρίτου νομοθέτου] cf. 20B.1

Joannes Tzetzes, Prolegomena de comoedia Graeca, Prooemium II (SA XIa II, 1.1A.32.2-11 Koster)

67 W

ο γὰρ ἡηθεὶς βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος ἐκεῖνος, ἡ φιλοσοφωτάτη τῷ ὄντι καὶ θεία ψυχή, καλοῦ παντὸς καὶ θεάματος καὶ ἔργου καὶ λόγου τελῶν ἐπιθυμητής, ἐπεὶ διὰ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως καὶ γερουσίων ἑτέρων ἀνδρῶν δαπάναις βασιλικαῖς ἀπανταχόθεν τὰς βίβλους εἰς ᾿Αλεξάνδρειαν ἤθροισε, δυσὶ βιβλιοθήκαις ταύτας ἀπέθετο, ὧν τῆς ἐκτὸς μὲν ἦν ἀριθμὸς τετρακισμύριαι δισχίλιαι ὀκτακόσιαι, τῆς δ᾽ ἔσω τῶν ἀνακτόρων καὶ βασιλείου βίβλων μὲν συμμιγῶν ἀριθμὸς τεσσεράκοντα μυριάδες, ἀπλῶν δὲ καὶ ἀμιγῶν βίβλων μυριάδες 10 ἐννέα, ...

1–11 = VI Mb 5–13 Kaibel; scholion Plautinum in codice Vat. Lat. 11.469 (SA XId, 1.1A p. 48.6–49.1 Koster); eadem paulo brevius in Anonymo Crameri (SA XIc, 1.1A p. 43.4–9 Koster = VI Pb 4–10 Kaibel = 228 T 6e FGrH)

The Alexandrian Library

58A Georgius Syncellus, *Chronographical Selection* p. 518 Dindorf (BT 329.3–8 Mosshammer)

This Ptolemy Philadelphus brought together from all over the world every book, so to speak, through the exertions of Demetrius of Phalerum, third lawgiver of the Athenians, a man of great importance amongst the Greeks. Included were also the writings of the Hebrews, as mentioned above. Thus he established the library in Alexandria in the 132rd Olympiad, but while it was being stocked he died. There were, according to some, 100,000 books.

58B Joannes Tzetzes, *Introduction to Greek Comedy*, Proem II (*SA* XIa II, 1.1A.32.2–11 Koster)

For the said king Ptolemy, a truly most philosophic and divine spirit, was a confirmed lover of everything beautiful to sight and in deed and in word. Thus he collected through the services of Demetrius of Phalerum and other elderly men the books from all over the world in Alexandria, defraying expenses out of the royal funds, and deposited them in two libraries. Of these two the one outside numbered 42,800 books, the one inside the royal palace² 400,000 books of a composite nature and 90,000 books of a simple and non-composite nature...³

¹ Part of this paragraph on Ptolemy II Philadelphus is quoted in 64.

² I.e., 252/1–249/8. According to Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.8.11 (citing Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 3.21.2; cp. **61**.3–4), it was founded by Ptolemy I Soter.

³ In 246.

¹ I.e., Ptolemy II Philadelphus, mentioned by Tzetzes in the preceding sentence.

² The one outside was the Serapeum, the one inside the Museum.

³ Tzetzes adds that these figures were computed later on by Callimachus in his *pinakes*.

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Libri sacri Iudaeorum

Aristeas, *Epistula ad Philocratem* 9–11; 28; 29–32; 301–3; 308–9; 312–7 (BT 3.11–4.9; 10.11–12; 10.19–12.5; 79.23–80.11; 81.8–15; 82.6–83.14 Wendland)

κατασταθείς έπὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως βιβλιοθήκης 66 W Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐχρηματίσθη πολλὰ διάφορα πρὸς τὸ συναγαγεῖν, εἰ δυνατόν, ἄπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην βιβλία, καὶ ποιούμενος ἀγορασμοὺς καὶ μεταγραφάς έπὶ τέλος ἤγαγεν, ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πρόθεσιν. παρόντων γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐρωτηθείς, πόσαι τινὲς μυριάδες τυγχάνουσι βιβλίων, εἶπεν·"ὑπὲρ τὰς εἴκοσι, βασιλεῦ·πληρώσω δ' ἐν ὀλίγω χρόνω πρὸς τὸ πληρωθηναι πεντήκοντα μυριάδας τὰ λοιπά. προσαγγέλλεται δέ μοι καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νόμιμα μεταγραφῆς άξια καὶ τῆς παρὰ σοὶ βιβλιοθήκης εἶναι." "τί τὸ κωλῦον οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἐστί σε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι; πάντα γὰρ ὑποτέτακταί σοι τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν." ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος εἶπεν "έρμηνείας προσδείται·χαρακτήρσι γὰρ ἰδίοις κατὰ τὴν Ίουδαίων χρῶνται, καθάπερ Αἰγύπτιοι τἢ τῶν γραμ- 15 μάτων θέσει, καθὸ καὶ φωνὴν ἰδίαν ἔχουσιν· ὑπολαμβάνονται Συριακή χρήσθαι, τὸ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἕτερος τρόπος."

μεταλαβών δὲ ἕκαστα ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπε γραφῆναι πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅπως τὰ προειρημένα 20 τελείωσιν λάβη. ...

ώς δὲ κατεπράχθη ταῦτα, τὸν Δημήτριον ἐκέλευσεν εἰσδοῦναι περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν βιβλίων ἀντιγραφῆς ... τῆς δὲ εἰσδόσεώς ἐστιν ἀντίγραφον τόδε·

1-11 228 T 6e FGrH 1-21 = (verbatim) Eus. PE 8.2.1-4 (GCS 8.1.421.3-16 Mras); (per paraphrasin) Jos. AJ 12.12-16 (3.74.22-75.16 Niese) 22-4 = Eus. PE 8.2.5 (GCS 8.1.421.18-19; 422.3-4 Mras); Jos. AJ 12.34; 35 (3.78.20-2; 79.4-5 Niese)

¹ βιβλιοθήκης] βιβλιοθηκῶν Jos. 6 γὰρ O: om. cett.: οὖν Eus. 8 πληρώσω] σπουδάσω Eus. 9–10 προσαγγέλλεται] προσήγγελται Eus. 15 Ἰουδαίων] Ἰουδαίαν Eus. 23 ἀντιγραφῆς] ἀναγραφῆς Eus. Jos.

The Sacred Books of the Jews

- 59 Aristeas, Letter to Philocrates 9–11; 28; 29–32; 301–3; 308–9; 312–7 (BT 3.11–4.9; 10.11–12; 10.19–12.5; 79.23–80.11; 81.8–15; 82.6–83.14 Wendland)
 - When Demetrius of Phalerum was made head of the king's li-9 brary,1 he was furnished with large sums of money to collect, if possible, all the books in the world. He started buying (them) and having (them) transcribed, and he brought the king's project to completion, as far as lay in his power. In fact, when asked in our 10 presence just how many tens of thousands of books there were, he said: "More than twenty, sire. Within a short time, I will fill up the remainder so as to bring the total up to 500,000. It is reported to me that the law books of the Jews too deserve to be transcribed and included in your library." "Well, then," (the king) said, "what 11 is keeping you from doing that? For everything you need has been put at your disposal." Demetrius said: "A translation is needed. For in the Jews' country they use their own special characters, just as the Egyptians (use their own) writing system; accordingly they also have their own special spoken language. They are supposed to use the Syrian language,² but that is not true; (their language is a) different type."

After having been informed about all the details, the king said that the High Priest of the Jews³ should be written to in order that the project thus formulated should be accomplished. ...

After these orders had been executed,⁴ (the king) asked Demetrius to report on the transcription of the Jewish books ... a copy of the report reads as follows:

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¹ I.e., Ptolemy II Philadelphus. The title 'Philadelphus' is not used in the Letter itself, but in 35 the king refers to a deed of Ptolemy I as "of our father's" and in 41 the High Priest refers to "the queen Arsinoe" as "his sister."

² I.e., Aramaic.

³ Eleazar.

⁴ 12-27 concern the Jewish prisoners of war taken by Ptolemy I, who live in Egypt as slaves. These are to be set free and their owners are to be compensated financially.

"Βασιλεῖ μεγάλφ παρὰ Δημητρίου. προστάξαντός 25 29 199 W σου, βασιλεῦ, περὶ τῶν ἀπολιπόντων εἰς τὴν συμπλήρωσιν της βιβλιοθήκης βιβλίων, ὅπως ἐπισυναχθῆ καὶ τὰ διαπεπτωκότα τύχη τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπισκευῆς, πεποιημένος οὐ παρέργως τὴν ἐν τούτοις ἐπιμέλειαν, προσαναφέρω σοι. τὰ δὲ τοῦ νόμου τῶν Ἰουδαίων 30 30 βιβλία σὺν ἑτέροις ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἀπολείπει · τυγχάνει γὰρ Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασι καὶ φωνή λεγόμενα, ἀμελέστερον δὲ καὶ οὐχ ὡς ὑπάρχει σεσήμανται, καθὼς ὑπὸ τῶν είδότων προσαναφέρεται προνοίας γάρ βασιλικής ού τέτευχε. δέον δ' έστὶ καὶ ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν παρὰ σοὶ 35 διηκριβωμένα διὰ τὸ καὶ φιλοσοφωτέραν εἶναι καὶ άκέραιον την νομοθεσίαν ταύτην ως αν οδσαν θείαν. διὸ πόρρω γεγόνασιν οί τε συγγραφείς καὶ ποιηταὶ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἱστορικῶν πληθος της ἐπιμνήσεως τῶν προειρημένων βιβλίων καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὰ πεπολιτευμένων καὶ 40 πολιτευομένων ἀνδρῶν, διὰ τὸ ἁγνήν τινα καὶ σεμνὴν είναι την έν αὐτοῖς θεωρίαν, ώς φησιν Έκαταῖος ὁ 'Αβδηρίτης. ἐὰν οὖν φαίνηται, βασιλεῦ, γραφήσεται πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀποστείλαι τοὺς μάλιστα καλῶς βεβιωκότας καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ὄντας 45 ἄνδρας, ἐμπείρους τῶν κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἑαυτῶν, ἀφ' έκάστης φυλής έξ, ὅπως τὸ σύμφωνον ἐκ τῶν πλειόνων έξετάσαντες καὶ λαβόντες τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν άκριβὲς ἀξίως καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς σῆς προαιρέσεως θῶμεν εὐσήμως, εὐτύχει διὰ παντός."

μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁ Δημήτριος παραλαβὼν αὐτοὺς 301 66 W καὶ διελθών τὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ σταδίων ἀνάχωμα τῆς θαλάσσης πρὸς τὴν νῆσον καὶ διαβὰς τὴν γέφυραν καὶ

> $25-50\ 228\ T\ 6e\ FGrH=Eus.\ PE\ 8.3.1-4\ (GCS\ 8.1.422.7-24\ Mras);$ Jos. AJ 12.36-9 (3.79.5-24 Niese) = Demetrii Phalerei Ad Ptolemaeum Aegypti-orum regem Epistula (EG 218.1–27 Hercher) Abd. 264 F 23 FGrH; cf. 73 B 15 DK 51-64 Jos. AJ 12.103-5 (3.90.2–11 Niese)

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²⁶ ἀπολιπόντων codd.: ἀπολειφθέντων Eus.: ἀπολειπόντων Mendelssohn 30 σοι. τὰ δὲ codd. Eus.: σοι τάδε. Thackeray θείαν] θεοῦ Jos. 40 αὐτὰ Wendland: αὐτὰς codd. 40-1 καὶ →

"To the Great King from Demetrius. In compliance with your 29 order, Sire, with respect to the books that are wanting for completing the library, (i.e., to ensure) that (these) will be collected and that the volumes that have fallen apart will be repaired as required, I have made it my principal concern to attend to these mat-30 ters and report to you accordingly. The books on the law of the Jews with a few others are still missing; for it so happens that these are put in Hebrew characters and language, and have been recorded in written signs rather carelessly and not as well as is possible, as is reported by the experts. For they have not received a king's provident care. It is fitting that these books too be available to you, in an accurately established text, because this code of laws is both quite philosophical and uncontaminated, being as it is, so to speak, of divine origin. That is why writers and poets and the majority of the historians have refrained from mentioning the books cited above, as have those (men) who have conducted their government in accordance with them and are (still) doing so, because the doctrine in them is a holy and august one, as Hecataeus of Abdera says. If therefore it so pleases, Sire, the High Priest in Jerusalem shall be written to, (and he will be asked) to send those men who have more than others lived an exemplary life and are of an advanced age, experienced in matters relating to their own law, six men from each tribe, in order that thus by careful examination we may distill from the majority what they agree upon and establish an accurate translation, in a way worthy both of these matters and of your chosen policy. Fare you well always."5 ...

Three days later⁶ Demetrius took them along with him, passed along the seven stades' dam in the sea, which led to the island,⁷ crossed the bridge, and proceeded to the northern part, where he

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πολιτευομένων om. Eus. Jos.: secl. Wendland 43 φαίνηται Eus.: φανήται codd.

⁵ The *Letter* goes on as follows: letter of Ptolemy to Eleazar and reply of Eleazar (33–46); magnificent gifts of Ptolemy to Eleazar (51–82); account of the visit of the Alexandrian envoys (including Aristeas himself) to Jerusalem (83–171); arrival of the envoys and the Jewish elders in Alexandria and their reception by Ptolemy (172–186); a banquet lasting several days; Ptolemy discusses matters of public morality with the Jewish elders (187–300).

⁶ I.e., after the banquet; see note 5.

⁷ I.e., Pharos.

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προσελθών ώς ἐπὶ τὰ βόρεια μέρη, συνέδριον ποιησάμενος είς κατεσκευασμένον οἶκον παρὰ τὴν ἠιόνα, 55 διαπρεπώς ἔχοντα καὶ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας ἔφεδρον, παρεκάλει τοὺς ἄνδρας τὰ τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἐπιτελεῖν, παρόντων, όσα πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἔδει, καλῶς. οἱ δὲ ἐπετέλουν ἕκαστα σύμφωνα ποιοῦντες πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς ἀντιβολαῖς· τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῆς συμφωνίας γινόμενον 60 πρεπόντως άναγραφης ούτως έτύγχανε παρά τοῦ Δημητρίου. καὶ μέχρι μὲν ὥρας ἐνάτης τὰ τῆς συνεδρίας έγίνετο · μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος θεραπείαν ἀπελύοντο γίνεσθαι, ...

τελείωσιν δὲ ὅτε ἔλαβε, συναγαγὼν ὁ Δημήτριος τὸ 65 πληθος των Ἰουδαίων είς τὸν τόπον, οὧ καὶ τὰ της έρμηνείας ἐτελέσθη, παρανέγνω πᾶσι, παρόντων καὶ τῶν διερμηνευσάντων, οἵτινες μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἔτυχον, ὡς ἂν μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν 309 παραίτιοι γεγονότες. ώσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον 70 ἀποδεξάμενοι παρεκάλεσαν μεταδοῦναι τοῖς ἡγουμένοις αὐτῶν, μεταγράψαντα τὸν πάντα νόμον....

προσφωνηθέντων δὲ καὶ τούτων τῷ βασιλεῖ μεγάλως έχάρη την γαρ πρόθεσιν, ην είχεν, ασφαλώς έδοξε τετελειῶσθαι. παρανεγνώσθη δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πάντα, καὶ 75 λίαν έξεθαύμασε τὴν τοῦ νομοθέτου διάνοιαν. καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον εἶπε· "πῶς τηλικούτων συντετελεσμένων ούδεὶς ἐπεβάλετο τῶν ἱστορικῶν ἢ ποιητικῶν ἐπιμνησθηναι;" ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔφη· "διὰ τὸ σεμνὴν εἶναι τὴν νομοθεσίαν καὶ διὰ θεοῦ γεγονέναι καὶ τῶν ἐπιβαλλομένων τινὲς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πληγέντες τῆς ἐπιβολῆς 314 ἀπέστησαν." καὶ γὰρ ἔφησεν ἀκηκοέναι Θεοπόμπου, διότι μέλλων τινὰ τῶν προηρμηνευμένων ἐπισφαλέστε-

73-99 = Eus. PE 8.5.7-65–72 Jos. AJ 12.107–8 (3.90.18–25 Niese) 10 (GCS 8.1.426.6-427.2 Mras); Jos. AJ 12.110-4 (3.91.8-92.3 Niese) = 228 T 6e FGrH 73-95 similiter Leo Grammaticus, Chronographia 49.21-50.17 Bekker (CSHB) = Georgius Monachus, Chronicon breve 104.2 (PG 110.348.18-34 De Muralto) = Theodosius Melitenus,Chronographia 42.14-26 Tafel; Georgius Cedrenus, Historiarum Compendium 165B-C (CSHB 1.289.18-290.11 Bekker) = Symeon Logotheta in Chronico Cod. Reg. 1712 (An. Par. 1.14.25-34 Cramer) 82 Θεοπόμπου] Theopomp. 115 T 11 FGrH (= Jos. AJ 12.111-2)

established working sessions in a house prepared for that purpose near the beach, excellently furnished and located in a very quiet spot. There he invited the men to accomplish the translations, anything they might possibly need for their work being at their command. And they accomplished each (of the translations), achieving agreement among themselves through discussion. The (text which was) produced through agreement was thus written out in a fitting manner under the direction of Demetrius. The sessions lasted until the ninth hour; after that they broke up to take care of their bodily needs ... 8

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When (the translation) had been finished, Demetrius assembled the Jewish people in the same place where the translation had been carried out, and read it aloud to all, in the presence of the translators. The translators met with great approbation from the people, who believed that they (the translators) had been instrumental in accomplishing a project of great benefit. (The people) received Demetrius in the same manner, asking him to have a full copy of the law made and to put it at the disposal of their leaders.⁹...

When this had also been reported to the king, he was very glad indeed. For the project he had set himself appeared to have been successfully accomplished. The entire translation was read aloud to him too, and he very much admired the intellect of the law-giver. And he said to Demetrius: "How is it possible that, when there was a composition of this magnitude and importance, none of the historians or poets took the trouble to mention it?"

Demetrius replied: "That is because of the solemn nature of the legislation and its divine origin. As a matter of fact, some of those who did undertake to do so, were struck by the god and abandoned the enterprise." By way of explanation, he said he had actually heard Theopompus tell him that he had been disturbed in his mind for more than thirty days, when he was rather imprudently

⁸ The daily routine is described after this, with the interpreters paying their respects to the King each morning and performing their ablutions in the sea (304–7).

⁹ The representatives of the Jewish community decide that the text of the Law should from that moment on not be altered in any way (310–11).

⁷⁸ ποιητικῶν OTGI: ποιητικῶς KH: ποιητῶν Jos. Eus. 82 Θεοπόμπου Eus. Jos. Cedr. Theod.: Θεοπέμπτου codd. Mon. Zon. Sym.: Θεόπεμπον Leo

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ρον έκ τοῦ νόμου προσιστορεῖν ταραχὴν λάβοι τῆς διανοίας πλείον ήμερων τριάκοντα·κατά δὲ τὴν ἄνεσιν 85 έξιλάσκεσθαι τὸν θεὸν σαφὲς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, τίνος χάριν τὸ συμβαῖνόν ἐστι. δι' ὀνείρου δὲ σημανθέντος, ότι τὰ θεῖα βούλεται περιεργασάμενος εἰς κοινοὺς άνθρώπους ἐκφέρειν, ἀποσχόμενον δὲ οὕτως ἀποκαταστήναι. "καὶ παρὰ Θεοδέκτου δὲ τοῦ τῶν τραγωδιῶν ποιητοῦ μετέλαβον ἐγώ, διότι παραφέρειν μέλλοντός τι τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων ἐν τῆ βίβλω πρός τι δρᾶμα τὰς ὄψεις ἀπεγλαυκώθη · καὶ λαβὼν ὑπόνοιαν, ὅτι διὰ τοῦτ ' αὐτῷ τὸ σύμπτωμα γέγονεν, ἐξιλασάμενος τὸν θεὸν ἐν πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ἀποκατέστη."

μεταλαβών δὲ ὁ βασιλεύς, καθώς προείπον, περί 317 τούτων τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Δημητρίου, προσκυνήσας ἐκέλευσε μεγάλην ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι τῶν βιβλίων καὶ συντηρείν άγνῶς.

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90–5 Theodect. T 17 TrGF

breviter eadem fere narrant Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus, Catechesis IV De decem dogmatibus 34 (PG 33.497.5-9; 15-19 Migne); Epiphanius Constantiensis, De mensuribus et ponderibus 9-11 (168.256-171.329 Moutsoulas), ubi Δημητρίφ τινὶ τῷ Φαλαρηνῷ legitur; Epiphanius Constantiensis, De LXX Interpretibus 373a-376b (PG 43.373.1-376.18 Migne); Ioannes Zona-ras, Epitome Historiarum 4.16 (1.307.21-310.5 Dindorf); Synopsis Chronice 18.9-11 (BGMA 7.18.9-11 Sathas); cf. Cosmas Indicopleustes, Topographia Christiana 12 460B, ubi παρὰ Τρύφωνος τοῦ Φαληρέως dicitur

84 λαβεῖν] λάβοι *Eus*. 85 ἄνεσιν] αἴτησιν *Eus*. 87 σημανθέντος] μαθόντος Eus. ION 96-7 περί τούτων τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Δ.] περί τῶν -->

*60 Aristobulus ap. Eusebium, *Praeparatio evangelica* 13.2.1–2 (GCS 8.2.190.16–191.7 Mras)

> έκ τῶν ᾿Αριστοβούλου βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίω προσπεφωνημένων · "φανερὸν ὅτι κατηκολούθησεν ὁ Πλάτων τἣ καθ' ἡμᾶς νομοθεσία καὶ φανερός ἐστι περιειργασμένος έκαστα των έν αὐτῆ. διηρμήνευται γὰρ πρὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως δι' ἐτέρων, πρὸ τῆς 'Αλεξάνδρου καὶ Περσῶν ἐπικρατήσεως, τά τε κατὰ τὴν ἐξαγωγὴν τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τῶν Ἑβραίων, ἡμετέρων δὲ πολι

about to add a record of some passages from the law which had already been translated. During a lucid interval he (Theopompus) had tried to appease the god (in order) that it might be made clear to him what was the reason of the thing happening to him. When it had been indicated to him through a dream that in wanting to divulge divine matters to common people he was overstepping his boundaries, he abandoned his intention and so recovered his reason. "I was also told by the tragedian Theodectes that, when he was about to introduce into a drama of his one of the things written down in the Bible, he suffered an attack of glaucoma of the eyes; and, having come to suspect that this was the reason he was affected by the disorder, he recovered from his illness only after having propitiated the god over many days."

When the king had heard, as I said earlier, what Demetrius had to say on this matter, he showed deep respect for the books and gave orders that great care should be taken of them and that they should be preserved with due reverence.¹⁰

¹⁰ After this the interpreters are sent back to Jerusalem with gifts for Eleazar (318–21).

τοῦ Δ. codd.: περὶ τούτων τὰ περὶ (παρὰ Cobet) τοῦ Δ. $Eus.\ BION$: ταῦτα παρὰ Δ. Jos.

*60 Aristobulus in Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 13.12.1–2 (GCS 8.2.190.16–191.7 Mras)

From Aristobulus' address to King Ptolemy:

"It is obvious that Plato followed our legislation and he obviously studied all its details closely. For before Demetrius of Phalerum—before the conquest by Alexander and by the Persians that is 1—a translation had been made by others of the exodus out of Egypt of the Hebrews, our fellow-citizens, and of the glory of

120 Demetrius of Phalerum

τῶν, καὶ ἡ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπάντων αὐτοῖς ἐπιφάνεια καὶ κράτησις τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς ὅλης νομοθεσίας ἐπεξήγησις, ὡς εὕδηλον εἶναι τὸν προειρημένον φιλόσοφον ιο εἰληφέναι πολλά· γέγονε γὰρ πολυμαθής, καθὼς καὶ Πυθαγόρας πολλὰ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν μετενέγκας εἰς τὴν εαυτοῦ δογματοποιίαν κατεχώρισεν. ἡ δ' ὅλη ἑρμηνεία τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου πάντων ἐπὶ τοῦ προσαγορευθέντος Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως, σοῦ δὲ προγόνου, προσενεγικαμένου μείζονα φιλοτιμίαν, Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως πραγματευσαμένου τὰ περὶ τούτων."

2–17 Aristobul. F 2 (PVTG 3.221.14–222.23 Denis) 2–13 δογματοποιίαν = Aristobul. ap. Clem. Al. Strom. 1.22.150.1–3 (GCS 2.92.27–93.10 Stählin-Früchtel) [= Cl.], quod iterum sub nomine Clementis ab Eusebio laudatur PE 9.6.6–8 (GCS 8.1.493.7-18 Mras) [= Eus.] 13–17 cf. 61

2 φανερὸν—κατηκολούθησεν] κατηκολούθηκε δὲ καὶ Cl. Eus. (sine καὶ) 4 τῶν ἐν αὐτῆ] τῶν ἐν αὐτῆ λεγομένων Cl. Eus. \parallel γὰρ] δὲ Cl. Eus. 5 τοῦ Φαληρέως om. Cl. Eus. \parallel δι' ἑτέρων] ὑφ' ἑτέρων Cl. Eus.: ὑφ' ἑτέρου Cl. L 6 καὶ del. Wilamowitz 10 ὡς] ὥστε Cl. Eus. 13-17 κατεχώρισεν—τούτων om. Cl. Eus.

Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* 1.22.148.1 (GCS 2.92.5–9 Stählin-Früchtel)

... ἑρμηνευθήναι δὲ τὰς γραφὰς τάς τε τοῦ νόμου καὶ τὰς προφητικὰς ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἑβραίων διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶττάν φασιν ἐπὶ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου ἢ ὡς τινες ἐπὶ τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου ἐπικληθέντος, τὴν μεγίστην φιλοτιμίαν εἰς τοῦτο προσενεγκαμένου, Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως [καὶ] τὰ περὶ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ἀκριβῶς πραγματευσαμένου·

1–7 cf. **60**.13–17

6 καὶ om. Aristob. (60.16)

- Tertullianus, Apologeticum 18.5 (CC 1.1.118.24–119.2 Dekkers)
- Ptolemaeus, quem Philadelphum supernominant, eruditissimus rex et omnis litteraturae sagacissimus, cum studio

all that has happened to them, of the conquest of the country² and of the exegesis of the entire legislation; therefore, it is evident that the aforementioned philosopher has borrowed many things. For he was a man of great knowledge, just as Pythagoras too has taken over many things from us and given them a place in his own doctrine. But the entire translation of all books containing the law (was made) during the reign of the king called Philadelphus, your ancestor,³ who contributed quite munificently to the project, with Demetrius of Phalerum managing everything connected with it."

- ¹ This is explained as a hysteron proteron: the conquest of Egypt by Artaxerxes III in 341 preceded that by Alexander in 332 B.C.
 - ² I.e., the Promised Land.

2

³ The quotation is from "the first (book) of the address to Philometor"; this appears to be Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 B.C.).

Clement of Alexandria, *Patchwork* 1.22.148.1 (*GCS* 2.92.5–9 Stählin-Früchtel)

... the writings both of the law and of the prophets were translated, they say, from the Hebrew language into the Greek tongue during (the reign of) king Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, or, as others say, during that of the (Ptolemy) called Philadelphus, who was most munificent in contributing funds to the project, Demetrius of Phalerum managing everything connected with the translation in a painstaking manner.

¹ I.e., Ptolemy I Soter. This is one of the very few texts which date the translation to the reign of Ptolemy I; cp. Johannes Malalas, *Chronography* V 83^a p. 196 Dindorf.

62 Tertullian, *Apology* 18.5 (*CC* 1.1.118.24–119.2 Dekkers)

Ptolemy, who had the surname Philadelphus, was the most erudite king and the most acute in all literature. He aspired, I

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bibliothecarum Pisistratum, opinor, aemularetur, inter cetera memoriarum, quibus aut uetustas aut curiositas aliqua ad famam patrocinabatur, ex suggestu Demetrii Phalerei, grammaticorum tunc probatissimi, cui praefecturam mandauerat, libros a Iudaeis quoque postulauit, proprias atque uernaculas litteras, quas soli habebant.

2-3 studio—aemularetur] cf. Isid. Orig. 6.3.5 5-6 228 T 6e et 10 FGrH 6 grammaticorum] cf. 147.6-7 probatissimi] v. ad 17.8

2 rex et omnis Modius: rexit omni F: et omnis vulg.

63 Josephus, *Contra Apionem* 2.45–7 (5.60.2–15 Niese)

ό δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλάδελφος ἐπικληθεὶς 45 67 W ού μόνον εἴ τινες ἦσαν αἰχμάλωτοι παρ' αὐτῷ τῶν ήμετέρων πάντας ἀπέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα πολλάκις έδωρήσατο καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἐπιθυμητὴς ἐγένετο τοῦ γνῶναι τοὺς ἡμετέρους νόμους καὶ ταῖς τῶν ίερων γραφων βίβλοις έντυχειν. ἔπεμψε γουν ἀξιων ἄνδρας ἀποσταλῆναι τοὺς ἑρμηνεύσοντας αὐτῷ τὸν νόμον καὶ τοῦ γραφῆναι ταῦτα καλῶς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν έπέταξεν οὐ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ Δημήτριον τὸν Φαληρέα καὶ 'Ανδρέαν καὶ 'Αριστέα, τὸν μὲν παιδεία τῶν 10 καθ' ξαυτὸν διαφέροντα Δημήτριον, τοὺς δὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ φυλακὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένους, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ταύτης ἔταξεν, οὐκ ἂν δήπου τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν πάτριον ἡμῶν φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιθυμήσας ἐκμαθεῖν, εἰ τῶν χρωμένων αὐτοῖς ἀνδρῶν κατεφρόνει καὶ μὴ λίαν 15 έθαύμαζεν.

9-10 228 T 6e FGrH 10-11 τον-Δημήτριον] v. ad 17.8

1 αὐτὸν ed. pr.: αὐτὰ L 11 διαφέροντα ed. pr.: διαφερόντων L

*64 Georgius Syncellus, *Ecloga Chronographica* p. 517 Dindorf (BT 328.16–22 Mosshammer)

οί δὲ θεοφιλεῖς ὄντες καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡνωμένοι κατὰ συζυγίας διαιρεθέντες ἐν οβ΄ ταῖς ὅλαις ἡμέραις ὁμοφώνως ἐπιπνοίᾳ θεοῦ τὴν ὅλην Ἑβραίων φωνὴν

think, to be the equal of Pisistratus in his eagerness for books. In addition to the other documents which age and a certain curiosity recommended for fame, he also asked the Jews for books, their own literature in their native language, which they alone possessed; (and he did this) on the recommendation of Demetrius of Phalerum, the most esteemed of the philologists of that time, to whom he had entrusted the directorship.

¹ Pisistratus was tyrant of Athens. For his reputation as a "Greek book collector" see R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classial Scholarship* I, 1968, 7.

63 Josephus, *Against Apion* 2.45–7 (5.60.2–15 Niese)

- The Ptolemy who came after him, called Philadelphus, not only gave back all of our men whom he had as prisoners of war, but also often made donations of money and, most important of all, proved to be desirous of getting to know our laws and of becoming acquainted with the books containing the holy scriptures.
- He did, at any rate, send a request that men would be dispatched to translate for him the law, and in order to ensure an accurate transcription of the text, he entrusted the supervision not to just anybody, but as supervisors of the project appointed Demetrius
- of Phalerum, Andreas and Aristeas,² Demetrius being one of the most learned men of his time, the other two being his own body-guards. Surely he would not have conceived a desire to get to know in all detail our laws and the philosophy handed down by our fathers, if he despised the men who put these into practice rather than admiring them very much.

*64 Georgius Syncellus, *Chronographical Selection* p. 517 Dindorf (BT 328.16–22 Mosshammer)

Being loved by god and united in spirit, they made, divided into pairs, a divinely inspired uniform translation of the entire (prophetic) utterance of the Hebrews in a total of 72 days. When it

¹ Ptolemy I, son of Lagus, mentioned in 44.

²This information is derived from Aristeas' Letter to Philocrates (59). There Andreas and Aristeas are mentioned by the King in his letter to Eleazar as being the persons who bring him the gifts from the King and will negotiate with him about the sacred books (40).

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μετέφρασαν. ἡς ἐπαναγνωσθείσης Πτολεμαίφ τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν σοφοῖς Δημητρίῳ τῷ Φαληρεῖ παρ' 'Έλλησιν ἀνδρὶ σπουδαίῳ καὶ πολυμαθεῖ, Μενεδήμῳ τε φιλοσόφῳ καὶ ἑτέροις ἀνθοῦσι τῷ τηνικαῦτα, ὡμολογήθη μόνη θεόπνευστος εἶναι παρὰ πᾶσαν γραφὴν ἐγνωσμένην αὐτοῖς.

1–9 cf **59**.73–95, ubi v. testimonia, quae omnia Menedemum eis quae illic narrantur adfuisse dicunt 6–7 ἀνδρὶ—πολυμαθεῖ] v. ad **17**.8

65 Josephus, *Contra Apionem* 1.215–8 (5.38.20–39.2 Niese)

άρκοῦσι δὲ ὅμως εἰς τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἀρχαιότητος 215 αί τε Αιγυπτίων καὶ Χαλδαίων καὶ Φοινίκων ἀναγραφαὶ πρός ἐκείναις τε τοσοῦτοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφεῖς · ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις Θεόφιλος καὶ Θεόδοτος καὶ Μνασέας καὶ 'Αριστοφάνης καὶ 'Ερμογένης Εὐήμερός τε καὶ Κόνων καὶ Ζωπυρίων καὶ πολλοί τινες ἄλλοι τάχα, ού γὰρ ἔγωγε πᾶσιν ἐντετύχηκα τοῖς βιβλίοις, οὐ 217 παρέργως ήμῶν ἐμνημονεύκασιν. οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνδρῶν τῆς μὲν ἀληθείας τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πραγμάτων διήμαρτον, ὅτι μὴ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἡμῶν βίβλοις 10 ἐνέτυχον, κοινῶς μέντοι περὶ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἄπαντες μεμαρτυρήκασιν, ύπερ ής τὰ νῦν λέγειν προεθέμην. ὁ μέντοι Φαληρεύς Δημήτριος καὶ Φίλων ὁ πρεσβύτερος καὶ Εὐπόλεμος οὐ πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείας διήμαρτον. οἷς συγγιγνώσκειν ἄξιον·οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν αὐτοῖς μετὰ πάσης 15

was publicly read aloud to Ptolemy Philadelphus and the learned men of his circle, (i.e.) Demetrius of Phalerum, a worthy man of great learning among the Greeks, and the philosopher Menedemus² and others flourishing at that time, all agreed that (this translation) alone was divinely inspired as compared to all writing known to them.³

- ¹ This passage is part of a description of the translation of the sacred books; Demetrius has not been mentioned yet.
- ² In Aristeas' Letter to Philocrates 201 (= Jos., AJ 12.101) Menedemus is said to be present at the banquet given to the Jewish elders (see note 5 to **59**), not at the reading of the translation as here.
- ³ After this there follows a short excerpt from Josephus; it concerns Theopompus and Theodectes (cp. **59**.73–95), and the embassy of Aristeas and Andreas to Eleazar in Jerusalem; after that the passage printed as **58A**.

65 Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.215–8 (5.38.20–39.2 Niese)

- However, our antiquity is sufficiently established by the Egyptian, Chaldaean, and Phoenician records, not to mention the numerous Greek historians. In addition to those already cited, Theophilus, Theodotus, Mnaseas, Aristophanes, Hermogenes, Euhemerus, Conon, Zopyrion, and maybe many others—for I am not acquainted with all (relevant) writings—have made more than a passing mention of us. The majority of the men just mentioned have utterly failed to grasp the true state of our history from its beginning, because they have not become acquainted with our sa-
- our antiquity, which is what I propose to speak about here.

 Demetrius of Phalerum, it is true, and Philo the elder and Eupolemus did not miss the truth by much; and in their case it is only fair to make allowances, for it was not possible for them to follow our

cred books. They have, however, all without exception testified to

άκριβείας τοῖς ἡμετέροις γράμμασι παρακολουθεῖν.

2 Αἰγυπτίων] Σύρων Eus. 4 Θεόδοτος L Eus.: theodorus Lat. 6
 Κόνων L: cinun Lat.: Κόμων Eus. 12 ἡς] οὖ Eus. 13 Φαληρεὺς seclus. Jacoby 14–15 οἷς—ἄξιον om. Eus. BON

Tertullianus, Apologeticum 19.5-6 (CC 1.1.121.11-22 Dekkers)

haec quibus ordinibus probari possint, non tam difficile est nobis exponere, quam enorme, nec arduum, sed interim longum [dinumerare]. multis instrumentis cum digitorum supputatoriis gesticulis asserendum est, reseranda antiquissimarum etiam gentium archiua, Aegyptiorum, Chald-

5

aeorum, Phoenicum; aduocandi, per quos notitia subministrata est, aliqui Manethon Aegyptius et Berosus Chaldaeus, sed et Hieromus Phoenix, Tyriorum rex; sectatores quoque ipsorum, Mendesius Ptolemaeus et Menander Ephesius et Demetrius Phalereus et rex Iuba et Apion et 10 Thallus et, qui istos aut probat aut reuincit, Iudaeus Iosephus, antiquitatum Iudaicarum uernaculus uindex;

4-12 228 F 52 FGrH = 794 F 5c FGrH = Thallus 256 T 3 FGrH

Manetho 609 T 6b FGrH

7-8 Berosus 680 T 3 FGrH

8 Hieronymus 787 T 1b FGrH

9 Ptolemaeus Mendesius 611 T 2a

FGrH || Menander 783 T 2a FGrH

10 Demetrius Phalereus]

Demetrius 643 T 2 FGrH || Apion 616 T 12 FGrH

202 W

5

³ dinumerare F, om. Vulg.: secl. Dekkers 4 asserendum F: adsidendum Vulg. || reseranda (F) dett.: reservanda SPM 7 aliqui F: aliquin Vulg. 7-8 Berosus Chaldaeus Vulg.: Hebraeus et Chaldaeus F 8 Hieromus Oehler: Proemis F: Hieronimus Vulg. 9 ipsorum SPM: eorum (F) dett 11 qui (F): si quis Vulg.

writings with complete accuracy.2

¹ Pythagoras (162–5), Theophrastus (167), Herodotus (168–71), Choerilus (172–5), Aristotle (176–82), Hecataeus of Abdera (183–204), Agatharchides (205–12). Josephus then comments upon the silence of Hieronymus of Cardia (213–14), which is surprising but does not really matter for the reasons mentioned in the text.

² Jacoby and Wehrli consider **65** and **66** as spurious. For **65**, cp. the Demetrius who wrote *On the Kings in Judaea* (722 *FGrH*); and for **66**, the Demetrius who wrote *On Egypt* (643 *FGrH*). In both cases Jacoby *FGrH* II b 653 on 228 F 51–2 considers a "Fälschung" more likely than a "Verwechselung"; Wehrli p. 87–8 on F 201–2 the opposite.

66 Tertullian, *Apology* 19.2.5–6 (*CC* 1.1.121.11–22 Dekkers)

- To explain through what successive steps in time this (the antiquity of Moses) could be proved, is not just difficult for us but rather is an enormous task; nor is it an arduous task, it is just (that it is) too long for the moment. Many documents together with many finger movements for counting are needed for establishing the proof; archives of the most ancient nations must furthermore be opened, of the Egyptians, the Chaldaeans, the Phoenicians.
- 6 Certain persons must be summoned, through whom our knowledge is furnished, like Manetho from Egypt and Berosus the Chaldaean, but also Hieromus the Phoenician, king of the Tyrians; their followers too, Ptolemaeus from Mendes and Menander from Ephesus and Demetrius of Phalerum and king Juba and Apion and Thallus and the man who either confirms or refutes the aforementioned, Josephus the Jew, native protector of the Jewish antiquities.¹

¹ See note 2 to **65**.

Relationes Variae

*67 Plutarchus, De tuenda sanitate praecepta 24 135C (BT 1.278.16–22 Gärtner)

ήκιστα δὴ τὴν ἀργίαν ὑγιεινὸν ὑποληπτέον, εἰ τὸ τῆς ὑγιείας τέλος ἀπόλλυσι, καὶ οὐδ' ἀληθές ἐστι τὸ μᾶλλον ὑγιαίνειν τοὺς ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντας· οὕτε γὰρ Ξενοκράτης μᾶλλον διυγίαινε Φωκίωνος οὕτε Δημητρίου Θεόφραστος, Ἐπίκουρόν τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἐπίκουρον οὐδὲν ὤνησε πρὸς τὴν ὑμνουμένην σαρκὸς εὐστάθειαν ἡ πάσης φιλοτιμίαν ἐχούσης πράξεως ἀπόδρασις.

1-7 Thphr. no. 26 FHS&G 5-7 Epicurus F 8 Usener p. 95.9-11

4 διυγίαινε O: δι' ὑγείαν cett. 5 τε] δὲ Sieveking

*68 Marcus Aurelius, Ad se ipsum 9.29 (BT 89.8–19 Dalfen)

1/2 χειμάρρους ή τῶν ὅλων αἰτία·πάντα φέρει. ὡς εὐτελῆ δὲ καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ ταῦτα καί, ὡς οἴεται, φιλοσόφως 3 πρακτικὰ ἀνθρώπια· μυξῶν μεστά. ἄνθρωπε, τί ποτε;

ποίησον, ὃ νῦν ἡ φύσις ἀπαιτεῖ. ὅρμησον, ἐὰν διδῶται,

- 5 καὶ μὴ περιβλέπου, εἴ τις εἴσεται. μὴ τὴν Πλάτωνος 5 πολιτείαν ἔλπιζε, ἀλλὰ ἀρκοῦ, εἰ τὸ βραχύτατον πρό- εισι, καὶ τούτου αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔκβασιν, ὡς μικρόν τί ἐστι,
- 6 διανοοῦ. δόγμα γὰρ αὐτῶν τίς μεταβάλλει; χωρὶς δὲ δογμάτων μεταβολῆς τί ἄλλο ἢ δουλεία στενόντων καὶ
- 7 πείθεσθαι προσποιουμένων; ύπαγε νῦν καὶ 'Αλέξανδρον καὶ Φίλιππον καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν Φαληρέα μοι λέγε. ὄψομαι, εἰ εἶδον, τί ἡ φύσις ἤθελε, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπαιδαγώγησαν εἰ δὲ ἐτραγώδησαν, οὐδείς με κατακέκρικε μιμεῖσθαι. ἀπλοῦν ἐστι καὶ αἰδῆμον τὸ φιλοσοφίας

8 μιμεισθαι. απλουν έστι και αίδημον το φιλοσοφίας ἔργον·μή με ἄπαγε ἐπὶ σεμνοτυφίαν.

15

1 αἰτία] οὐσία Reiske coll. 7.19 1–3 ὡς—μεστά post διανοοῦ 8 colloc. Farquharson 5 εἴσεται T: οἴσεται AD 7 οὐ μικρόν T 11 τὸν Φαληρέα suspectum putat Schenkl coll. 8.25.2 12 ὄψομαι Stich: ὄψονται AT: ἕψομαι Wilamowitz

Various Reports

*67 Plutarch, Rules for Preserving Health 24 135C (BT 1.278.16–22 Gärtner)

Clearly then, one should not at all suppose inactivity to be healthy, if it ruins that which health is meant to accomplish, and it is not true either that those who keep quiet enjoy a better health. For Xenocrates did not keep his health better than Phocion, nor Theophrastus than Demetrius, and running away from any activity smacking of ambition did not at all benefit Epicurus and his adherents with a view to their celebrated stability of bodily health.

*68 Marcus Aurelius, To Himself 9.29 (BT 89.8–19 Dalfen)

- The matter of the whole is a river swollen in winter; it carries
- all before it. How insignificant are these homunculi with their politics and their philosophic—so they think—practices; full of
- snot they are. Man, what then? Do what nature requires of you here and now. Go to, if the opportunity is given you, and don't
 - look around to see whether anyone will know. Do not hope for Plato's republic, but be content if you make a very small step for-
 - ward, and realize that the result even of this is nothing great. For who changes their convictions? And without a change of conviction what else is there (for them) except a bondage of men who
 - groan and (merely) pretend to listen to reason? Come on, talk to me of Alexander, Philip, and Demetrius of Phalerum. I will see whether they saw what nature willed, and went to school to her. If, on the other hand, they merely played their part on the world's
 - stage, no one has condemned me to imitate them. The work of philosophy is simplicity and self-respect; do not try to lead me into vainglory.

¹ Phocion was a pupil of Xenocrates (Plu. Phoc. 4.2).

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*69 Ioannes Tzetzes, Epistulae 61 (BT 91.24–92.4 Leone)

προσαγορευθήτω καὶ εἴ τις τῶν ὑμετέρων ἡμῖν γνώριμος καὶ ὁ σὸς οἰκέτης Εὐστράτιος ὁ συντομώτερος καὶ ταχινώτερος Κελλέρου καὶ Ἰφίκλου, φρονιμώτερος δὲ Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως καὶ 5 εἴ τις τούτων ἐφεύρηται μνημονέστερος.

4–5 μνημονέστερος ... Φαληρέως] Tzetzes Historiae 9.927–35 (383.3–11 Leone)

¹ ἡμῖν Hansen: ὑμῖν codd.

*69 Johannes Tzetzes, *Letters* 61 (*BT* 91.24–92.4 Leone)

Please convey my greetings also to anyone of yours who is known to us and especially to your servant Eustratius who is more to the point and more quick-witted than Cellerus and Iphicles, has more common sense than Odysseus and Nestor and has a better memory than Isocrates the orator, Demetrius of Phalerum and whoever has been found to have an even better memory than these.¹

¹ In his *Histories* 9.927–35 Tzetzes says that he has cited Demetrius instead of Theophrastus. There the point is that Isocrates and Theophrastus (no. 436.4c FHS&G) both were prolific writers who lived to a great age.

II. DICTA

de dictis Demetrii Phalerii repertis in vitis antiquis vel gnonomologiis et similibus collectionibus vel aliis textibus vide

- 1 Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae Philosophorum* 5.79 = 1.52-3
- 2 Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae Philosophorum* 5.82 = **1**.112–13
- 3 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae Philosophorum 5.82 = 1.113-15
- 4 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae Philosophorum 5.82 = 1.115–16
- 5 Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae Philosophorum* 5.82 = **1**.116–17
- 6 Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae Philosophorum* 5.82 = **1**.118–19
- 7 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae Philosophorum 5.82 = 1.119-21
- Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae Philosophorum* 5.82 = **1**.121–3 = no. 15
- 9 Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae Philosophorum* 5.83 = **1**.123–5
- 10 Demetrius, De Elocutione 289 = 12.7-8
- Plutarchus, Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata 189D = **38**.4–6
- 12 Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no. 253 = 70A
- 13 Arethas, Epistulae 39 = 70B
- 14 *Gnomologium Vaticanum* 743, no. 254 = **71**
- 15 Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no. 255 = 72 = no. 8
- 16 Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no. 256 = 73
- 17 Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no. 257 = 74
- 18 *Gnomologium Vaticanum* 743, no. 258 = **75**
- 19 *Gnomologium Vaticanum* 743, no. 259 = **76**
- 20 *Gnomologium Vaticanum* 743, no. 260 = **77**
- 21 Florilegium Monacense no. 186 = 78
- 22 Florilegium Monacense no. 188 = **79**
- 23 Polybius, *Historiae* 29.21 = **82A**.6–21
- 24 Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca historica 31.10 = 82B.4

II. SAYINGS

For sayings of Demetrius of Phalerum found in biographies or gnomologies and similar collections or other texts, see

- Diogenes Laertius, The Lives of the Philosophers 5.79 = 1.52-3
- Diogenes Laertius, The Lives of the Philosophers 5.82 = 1.112-13
- Diogenes Laertius, The Lives of the Philosophers 5.82 = 1.113-15
- Diogenes Laertius, The Lives of the Philosophers 5.82 = 1.115-16
- Diogenes Laertius, The Lives of the Philosophers 5.82 = 1.116-17
- Diogenes Laertius, The Lives of the Philosophers 5.82 = 1.118-19
- Diogenes Laertius, The Lives of the Philosophers 5.82 = 1.119-21
- Diogenes Laertius, *The Lives of the Philosophers* 5.82 = 1.121-3 = no. 15
- Diogenes Laertius, The Lives of the Philosophers 5.83 = 1.123-5
- 10 Demetrius, *On Style* 289 = 12.7-8
- Plutarchus, Sayings of Kings and Commanders 189D = **38**.4-6
- 12 *Gnomologium Vaticanum* 743, no. 253 = **70A**
- 13 Arethas, Letters 39 = 70B
- 14 *Gnomologium Vaticanum* 743, no. 254 = **71**
- 15 Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no. 255 = 72 = no. 8
- 16 Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no. 256 = 73
- 17 *Gnomologium Vaticanum* 743, no. 257 = **74**
- 18 Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no. 258 = 75
- 19 *Gnomologium Vaticanum* 743, no. 259 = **76**
- 20 *Gnomologium Vaticanum* 743, no. 260 = **77**
- 21 Florilegium Monacense no. 186 = 78
- 22 Florilegium Monacense no. 188 = 79
- 23 Polybius, *Histories* 29.21 = **82A**.6–21
- 24 Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History* 31.10 = **82B**.4

- 25 Plutarchus, Consolatio ad Apollonium 6 104B = **83**.7–8
- 26 Polybius, *Historiae* 10.24.7 = **90**.14–17
- 27 Strabo, Geographica 3.2.9 = 116A.17-20 = no. 29
- 28 Strabo, Geographica 3.2.9 = 116A.26-7 = no. 30
- 29 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 6.23 233E = **116B**.5-7 = no. 27
- 30 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 6.23 233E = **116B**.8–10 = no. 28
- 31 Rutilius Rupus, *De figuris* 1.1 = 129.7-11
- 32 Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Epistula ad Pompeium* Geminum 2.6 = **133**.37-8
- 33 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* $5.4\ 177E-178A = 143.19-22$
- 34 Stobaeus, Anthologium 3.12.18 = 154
- cf. Dicta septem sapientium a Demetrio Phalereo collecta ap. Stobaeum, Anthologium 3.1.172 = **87**

cf. quae Photius de dictis a Stobaeo collectis dicit, *Bibliotheca* 167 114a14–115b17, ubi Demetrius inter philosophos a Stobaeo laudatos nominatur (114a30 [CB 2.155.21 Henry]) et de Demetrii dicto a Stobaeo, *Anthologium* 4.7.27, laudato vide **app. 38**.1–6 (= no. 11 supra)

70A Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no. 253 (99.1–2 Sternbach)

1221 W Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἔφη, ὡς οἱ ⟨θυμοὶ καθάπερ οἱ⟩ κύνες τυφλὰ τίκτουσι τὰ κριτήρια.

idem apophthegma Plutarcho attribuitur in Anton. 2.53 (PG 136.1133C.40–1 Migne), Max. 19 (PG 91.840.20–1 Combefis), Mel. Aug. 34.5, cod. Par. Gr. 1168 (= Exc. Par. 9 Sternbach), cod. Vat. Gr. 743 f. 48^r, Apostol. 12.53^b (CPG 2.555.6–7 Leutsch); sine nomine auctoris occurrit in Flor. Pal.-Vat. 196, Gnom. Bar. 220 (= Gnom. Byz. 255 Wachsmuth), Flor. Ottobon. 221, Nilus Mal. Cog. PG 79.1453C.41–2 Migne

¹ θυμοὶ καθάπερ οἱ suppl. Sternbach e ceteris sententiae testibus: om. cod. || οἱ θυμοὶ] οἱ θυμικοὶ Apostol.: οἱ τῷ θυμῷ νικώμενοι Pal.-Vat., Bar.: οἱ τῶν θυμῶν νικόμενοι Ottob. 1-2 οἱ κύνες] αἱ κύνες Anton., Max. in codd. Vat. Gr. 741 et 385, Mel., Exc. Par., Apost.: κύνες Pal.-

- Plutarchus, Condolence addressed to Apollonius 6 104B = 83.7-8
- 26 Polybius, *Histories* 10.24.7 = 90.14-17
- 27 Strabo, Geography 3.2.9 = 116A.17-20 = no. 29
- 28 Strabo, Geography 3.2.9 = 116A.26-7 = no. 30
- 29 Athenaeus, *Sophists at Dinner* 6.23 233E = **116B**.5-7 = no. 27
- 30 Athenaeus, Sophists at Dinner 6.23 233E = **116B**.8-10 = no. 28
- 31 Rutilius Rupus, *On Figures* 1.1 = 129.7-11
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Letter to Gnaeus Pompeius 2.6 = 133.37-8
- 33 Athenaeus, Sophists at Dinner 5.4 177E-178A = 143.19-22
- 34 Stobaeus, *Anthology* 3.12.18 = 154
- cp. Sayings of the Seven Wise Men collected by Demetrius of Phalerum in Stobaeus, Anthology 3.1.172 = 87

cp. what Photius says about the sayings collected by Stobaeus, *Library* 167 114a14–115b17, where Demetrius is mentioned among the philosophers quoted by Stobaeus (114a30 [*CB* 2.155.21 Henry]) and see **app. 38**.1–6 (= no. 11 above) about the saying of Demetrius quoted by Stobaeus, *Anthologium* 4.7.27

70A Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no. 253 (99.1–2 Sternbach)

Demetrius of Phalerum said that <fits of rage, like> dogs, make the senses blind.

***70B** Arethas, *Epistulae* 39 (BT 1.295.1–13 Westerink)

Στεφάνου [Έφέσου]

τὰς δὲ κύνας τυφλὰ τίκτειν ἐπειγομένας ἀφῆκας; τὸν δὲ Φαληρέα τοιαῦτα τίκτειν καὶ τὰ κριτήρια φάμενον εἴασας; αἱ δ' ὀξύτεραι τῶν βουλῶν οὐκ ἐπισφαλέστεραι; ὅσα σοι τοιουτότροπα.

1 Ἐφέσου del. Kougeas

71 Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no. 254 (99.8–9 Sternbach)

122II W

ό αὐτὸς εὐχομένους μὲν ἔφη δεῖν αἰτεῖσθαι τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν, βουλευομένους δὲ ζητεῖν δυνατά.

ad haec spectant quae dicit Aristid. Or. 6.22 p. 584.15–17 Lenz (30, vol. I p. 578 Dind.)

Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no. 255 (99.14–16 Sternbach)

11**7 W**

ὁ αὐτὸς ἔφη δεῖν τοὺς καλῶς ἀγομένους τῶν νεανίσκων αἰδεῖσθαι ἐν μὲν ταῖς οἰκίαις τοὺς γονεῖς, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁδοῖς τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐρημίαις ἑαυτούς.

idem apophthegma Demetrio attribuitur in D.L. 5.82 (= 1.121-3) = Ars. 188.13-15 Walz, Max. 3 (PG 91.744B.18-21 Combefis), cod. Barberin. Gr. $3.8 f. 186^{v}$, cod. Vallicellan. F $58 f. 187^{r}$; cf. quae dicit Clem. Al. Paed. 3.5.33.3

73 Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no. 256 (100.1–2 Sternbach) 122III w ὁ αὐτὸς εἶπε τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον γενναίως ἐνεγκεῖν

² βουλευομένους Aristid.: βουλευσαμένους cod.

¹ ἀγομένους] ἀγωμένους cod. \parallel τοὺς—νεανίσκων] τοὺς νέους D.L.: τοὺς ἀστείους τῶν νέων Max., Ars., Vallicellan.: τοῖς ἀστίοις τῶν νέων Barb. 2 ἐν μὲν] μὲν ἐν cod. 3 post ἀπαντῶντας add. ἐν δὲ τοῖς λουτροῖς τὰς γυναῖκας Vallicellan. $\parallel post$ ἑαυτοὺς add. πανταχοῦ δὲ τὸν θεόν, ὅς ἐστι πανταχοῦ Vallicellan. (cf. Clem.)

***70B** Arethas, *Letters* 39 (*BT* 1.295.1–13 Westerink)

From Stephanus [from Ephesus]

Have you forgotten that bitches bear blind (offspring) if they are hurried? Have you let the Phalerean slip your mind who says that the senses are affected in the same way too? Aren't those decisions most likely to fail which have been made in haste? That is exactly what happens to you.¹

¹ This is a reply of Stephanus, keeper of the royal inkstand, to an impatient letter from Arethas about some papyrus which though promised to him by Stephanus had not yet arrived.

71 Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no. 254 (99.8–9 Sternbach)

The same man (Demetrius of Phalerum) said that when praying we should ask for those goods which are greatest but in deliberating we should look for things which are possible.

72 Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no. 255 (99.14–16 Sternbach)

The same man (Demetrius of Phalerum) said that it is fitting for those of the young who are well-bred, when at home to respect their parents, on journeys those they meet, and in solitary places themselves.

73 Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no. 256 (100.1–2 Sternbach)

The same man (Demetrius of Phalerum) said that he who is

άτυχίαν μη δύνασθαι ἐπιδεξίως ἐνεγκεῖν εὐτυχίαν.

idem apophthegma Demetrio attribuitur in Anton. 1.70 (PG 136.984B.19–20 Migne), Max. 18.45 (cod. Vat. Gr. 739), Gnom. Basil. 276 (91.28–9 Kindstrand) (sed Democrito attribuitur in cod. Bar. Gr. 39), cod. Pal. 122 f. 212^r no. 206, Ars. 188.16–17 Walz; Demostheni attribuitur in Max. 18 (PG 91 833C.31–2 Combefis); sine nomine auctoris occurrit in Flor. Mon. 52 (BT 4.271.8–9 Meineke), Flor. Leid. 52 (10.10–11 Beynen), Flor. Pal.-Vat. 253, Gnom. Bar. 106 (= Gnom. Byz. 105 Wachsmuth), Flor. Ottobon. 107, Flor. Pal. 83 (22.6–7 Wachsmuth)

1-2 εἶπε—δύνασθαι] τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον (βουλόμενον Μαχ.) γενναίως (οπ. Anton.) φέρειν ἀτυχίαν μηδ' εὐτυχίαν ἔφη δύνασθαι Anton., Max., Basil., Pal. 122, Ars.: τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον γενναίως ἐνεγκεῖν ἀτυχίαν ἴσθι (οπ. Pal.-Vat., Bar., Ottob.) μὴ δύνασθαι ἐπιδεξίως ἐνεγκεῖν εὐτυχίαν Mon., Leid., Pal.-Vat., Bar., Ottob.; eadem in oratione recta ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος—οὐ δύναται—εὐτυχίαν Pal.

Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no. 257 (100.8–9 Sternbach)

122IV W

ὁ αὐτὸς ἔφη μὴ δεῖν ζητεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰ ἐκ μεγάλης πόλεώς εἰσιν, ἀλλ' εἰ μεγάλης πόλεως ἄξιοι.

idem apophthegma Demetrio attribuitur in Flor. Mon. 187 (BT 4.281.26–8 Meineke) et Flor. Leid. 176 (28.3–5 Beynen), cf. **78**; Aristoteli attribuitur in D.L. 5.19 (OCT 1.204.18–19 Long); Zenoni attribuitur in Max. 63 (PG 91.993.54–996.2 Combefis), Ars. 265.26–8 Walz

Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no. 258 (100.13–14 Sternbach)

122V W

ό αὐτὸς ἔλεγε τὸ μὲν τὰ κακὰ ἐνεγκεῖν ἀνδραπόδων εἶναι, τὸ δὲ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἀνδρῶν.

idem apophthegma Demostheni attribuitur in cod. Laur. Plut. 86.8 (= App. Gnom. 45 Sternbach); cf. quae dicit Pl. Grg. 483A8-B2

^{1–2} in D.L. legitur πρὸς τὸν καυχώμενον ὡς ἀπὸ μεγάλης πόλεως εἴη, "οὐ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅστις μεγάλης πατρίδος ἄξιός ἐστιν." 1 εἰ Mon., Leid.: οἵτινες cod., Max. in cod. Vat. Gr. 385, Ars.: εἴ τινες Max 2 πόλεώς] πόλεών Max., Mon. || πόλεως] πατρίδος D.L.: πόλεων Max.

¹ ένεγκείν] ὑπομείναι App. Gnom.

unable to take misfortune nobly is unable to take good fortune adroitly.

74 Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no. 257 (100.8–9 Sternbach)

The same man (Demetrius of Phalerum) said one should not inquire whether people are from a great city but whether they are worthy of a great city.

75 Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no. 258 (100.13–14 Sternbach)

The same man (Demetrius of Phalerum) said that it is the part of slaves to endure things bad, of men things good.

Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no 259 (100.18–19 Sternbach)

122VI W

ό αὐτὸς ἐρωτηθεὶς τί τῶν ζώων κάλλιστόν ἐστιν εἶπεν·"ἄνθρωπος παιδεία κεκοσμημένος."

idem apophthegma Aristoteli attribuitur in Exc. Flor. 2.13 no. 47 (BT 4.195.19–21 Meineke); Isocrati attribuitur in Mel. Aug. 38.18; Socrati attribuitur in Anton. 1.50 (PG 136.936A.10–11 Migne), Max. 17 (PG 91.824.36–7 Combefis) (= Socrates I C 366 SSR I 133 Giannantoni), cod. Par. Gr. 1168 (= Exc. Par. 255 Sternbach), cod. Pal. Gr. 243 f. 248^ν, Ars. 436.17–18 Walz; sententia οὐδὲν ἐν ζώοις κάλλιστόν ἐστιν ὡς ἄνθρωπος παιδεία κεκοσμημένος sine mentione auctoris occurrit in Flor. Pal.-Vat. 166, cod. Paris. 1168 f. 140^r–46^ν (= Gnom. Par. 24 = Gnom. Byz. 53 Wachsmuth), Gnom. Bar. 38 (= Gnom. Byz. 53 Wachsmuth), Flor. Ottobon. 39; sub titulo ἐκ τῶν Δημοκράτους (vel Δημοκρίτου) Ἰσοκράτους καὶ Ἐπικτήτου in Max. 17 (PG 91.825.44–5 Combefis); sub Democriti nomine in cod. Vat. Gr. 633 f. 115^ν

Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no. 260 (101.8 Sternbach)

122VII W

ό αὐτὸς ἐρωτηθεὶς τίς ἄριστος σύμβουλος ἔφη· "ὁ καιρός."

idem apophthegma Demetrio attribuitur in cod. Pal. Gr. 297 f. 118^r no. 69; Democrati Parrhesiastae attribuitur in cod. Vat. Gr. 1144 f. 217^r (App. Vat. I 47 Sternbach), ubi sequitur no. 49 = **38**; Bianti attribuitur in Max. 2 (PG 91.733.37–8 Combefis) (= Bias F 16 FPhG I 229 Mullach), Gnom. Basil. 74 Kindstrand, Gnom. cod. Pal. 122 f. 159^r no. 68, Ars. 147.16–17 Walz; Euclidi attribuitur in Flor. Pal.-Vat. 69; cod. Ottobon. Gr. 192 f. 277^r (= Euclides F 13 Döring = II A 19 SSR I 383 Giannantoni); Demostheni attribuitur in cod. Vat. Gr. 742 f. 66^r, Laurent. Plut. 86.8 f. 315^r (= App. Gnom. 46 Sternbach)

*78 Florilegium Monacense no. 186 (BT 4.281.24–5 Meineke)

Δημήτριος ἐρωτηθεὶς τί δυσκολώτατον ἐν ἀνθρώποις, "σιωπὴ" ἔφη.

sequitur no. 187 = 74; idem apophthegma Demetrio attribuitur in Flor. Leid. 175 (28.1-2 Beynen) ubi sequitur no. 176 = 74; Aristoteli attribuitur in Stob. Anth. $3.41.8 (BT 3.759.1-2 \text{ Hense}) (= \text{Aristoteles } F \rightarrow$

² τὴν ψυχὴν ante παιδεία addit. Exc. Flor. | κεκοσμημένος] κοσμούμενος Max.

¹ ὁ αὐτὸς] Βίας *Basil*.

76 Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no. 259 (100.18–19 Sternbach)

The same man (Demetrius of Phalerum) when asked which is the finest of living beings replied: a human being adorned with breeding.

77 Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no. 260 (101.8 Sternbach)

The same man (Demetrius of Phalerum) when asked who is the best counselor said: the right moment.

*78 Florilegium Monacense no. 186 (BT 4.281.24–5 Meineke)

Demetrius, when asked what is the most unpleasant thing among humans, said "silence."

67f no. 8 p. 402 Düring), Gnom. Vat. 743, no. 58 (28.1–2 Sternbach), cod. Par. 1168 f. 89^r (cf. RhM 35 (1880) 419), cod. Vat. Gr. 1144 f. 228^r (= App. Vat. II 6 Sternbach), Max. 20 (PG 91.848.3–4 Combefis), Gnom. Basil. 17 Kindstrand, cod. Pal. 122 f. 134^r no. 15, Ars. 122.11–12 Walz; Joanni Chrysostomo attribuitur in cod. Ottobon. Gr. 192 f. 190^r

¹ δυσκολώτατον] δύσκολον App. Vat. II ἐν ἀνθρώποις Mon. et Leid.: ἐν (τῷ) βίφ ceteri testes 2 σιωπὴ] σιωπὴν Leid.: τὸ σιωπᾶν Gnom. Vat., App. Vat.: τὸ σιωπᾶν ὰ μὴ δεῖ λαλεῖν Stob., Max., Gnom. Basil., Ars.

142 Demetrius of Phalerum

*79 Florilegium Monacense no. 188 (BT 4.282.1–2 Meineke)

ὁ αὐτὸς τὴν φιλαργυρίαν μητρόπολιν ἔλεγε πάσης κακίας.

cf. ad **78**; idem apophthegma Demetrio attribuitur in Flor. Leid. 177 (28.6–7 Beynen); Democrito attribuitur in Gnom. Vat. 265 (102.17 Sternbach) = cod. Vat. Gr. 742 f. 66^r (= App. Gnom. 47 Sternbach) et cod. Laur. Plut. 86.8 f. 315^r; Bianti attribuitur in Proleg. in Aphthonii Prog. RhG 2.17.25–18.1 Walz; Bioni attribuitur in Theon Prog. 5 (CB 22.20–1 [= Bion F 35B Kindstrand] et 29.7–9 [= F 35C Kindstrand] Patillon), Stob. Anth. 3.10.37 (BT 3.417.5–6 Hense) (= F 35A Kindstrand); Diogeni attribuitur in D.L. 6.50 (OCT 2.268.21–2 Long); Ars. 208.4–5 Walz

¹ πάσης κακίας] πάντων τῶν κακῶν D.L., Ars.: τῆς κακίας Theon p. 105 || post vel ante πάσης κακίας add. εἶναι Stob., Theon, App. Gnom., Aphthon.

*79 Florilegium Monacense no. 188 (BT 4.282.1–2 Meineke)

The same man (Demetrius) said that love of money is the mother-city of all evil.

III. SCRIPTA

de Demetrii Phalerii scriptis vide Diogenem Laertium, *Vitae Philosophorum* 5.80–1 = 1.58–109; vide etiam 80; 81; 88; 118; 149; 150

Tabula Rhodiensis col. I 1-7 (215.1-7 RFIC 63 (N.S. 13) 1935 Segre)

[Δημητρίου] 76 W Βοιωτιακός 110 W 'Αρίσταιχμος 101 W έ[ν] Κλέ 2 Φαιδώνδας ἢ περὶ ο[4 Περὶ τῆς 'Αθήνησι 5 νομοθεσίας πέ[ντε 6 Περὶ τῶν 'Αθήνησι πολι τειῶν 7

fin. saec. II aCn ed. pr. A. Maiuri, NSERC 1925 no. 11 p. 14–15; iterum edidit M. Segre, RFIC 63 (N.S. 13) (1935) 214–22; cf. G. De Sanctis, RFIC 54 (N.S. 4) (1926) 63–73; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, Gnomon 2 (1926) 195–6; 365; C. Wendel, Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen 46 (1929) 1–6; L. Robert, BCH 1935, 424–5 (= OMS I 1969, 181–2), REG 49 (1936) 377 1–7 228 T 11 FGrH 1 v. 118 2 v. 150 3 cf. 1.78 et v. 88 4 cf. 1.76 et v. 88 5–7 cf. 1.65–6 et v. 88

in titulo [Δημητρίου] suppl. Wilamowitz 2 [ἕν] Jacoby 3 ἕ[ν] De Sanctis, Jacoby 4 ὀ[λιγαρχίας] dubitanter De Sanctis: ὁ[μονοίας] Hiller 7 πολι[τειῶν] Hiller, Wendel, Jacoby: πολι[τῶν δύο] De Sanctis: πολι-[τευμάτων] Maiuri

Ethica

cf. dicta Demetrii in 1.113–15; 117–25; **70A**–**B**; **71**–**3**; **75**–**6**; **78**–**9**; **82A**.6–21; **82B**.4; **83**.7–8; **116A**.17–20; 26–7; **116B**.8–10; **129**.7–11; **143**.19–22

Inscriptiones librorum

- Tabula inscriptionum ad opera ethica spectantium
 - 1 Περὶ τύχης α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.91; Polybius, Historiae 29.21 = 82A.2-3 = Excerpta

III. WRITINGS

For the writings of Demetrius of Phalerum see Diogenes Laertius, The Lives of the Philosophers 5.80-1 = 1.58-109; see also 80; 81; 88; 118; 149; 150

80 Rhodian Book Catalogue col. I 1–7 (215.1–7 RFIC 63 (N.S. 13) 1935 Segre)

[Of Demetrius:]

Boeotian (Speech)

Aristaechmus

Cleon, one book

Phaedondas or On

On Legislation at Athens, five books

On Constitutions at Athens

Ethics

cp. the sayings of Demetrius in 1.113–15; 117–25; **70A–B**; **71–3**; **75–6**; **78–9**; **82A**.6–21; **82B**.4; **83**.7–8; **116A**.17–20; 26–7; **116B**.8–10; **129**.7–11; **143**.19–22

Titles of Books

- 81 List of Titles Referring to Ethical Works
 - On Fortune, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.91; Polybius, Histories 29.21 = 82A.2-3 = Excerpta Constantini

Constantini Porphyrogeniti, De sententiis 125 (4.194.28 Boissevain) app. 82A (ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς τύχης ὑπομνήματι); Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca historica 31.10.1 = 82B.2 = Excerpta Constantini Porphyrogeniti, De sententiis 360 (4.373.2 Boissevain) app. 82B (ἐν τῷ περὶ τύχης ὑπομνήματι)

- 2 Περὶ γήρως α΄] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.106; 9.20 = 84.1 (ἐν τῷ Περὶ γήρως); 2.13 = 85.7-8 (ἐν τῷ Περὶ γήρως)
- 3 Περὶ ὀνείρων α΄ β΄ γ΄ δ΄ ε΄] Artemidorus, *Onirocriticon* 2.44 = **86** (sine inscriptione libri)
- 4 Τῶν Ἑπτὰ Σοφῶν ᾿Αποφθέγματα] Stobaeus, Anthologium 3.1.172 = 87.1
- 5 Χρειῶν α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.109
- 6 Δίκαια α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.107
- 7 'Ερωτικός α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.75
- 8 Περὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων α΄] Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae* 5.81 = **1**.97
- 9 Περὶ μεγαλοψυχίας α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 =
 1.92
- 10 Περὶ χάριτος α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.90
- 11 Προτρεπτικός α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.84
- cf. Υπὲρ ἐλέου] papyrus inedita: Papiri della Società Italiana Inv. CNR 70 (Δημητρίου | ὑπὲρ ἐλέου), de quo vide Dorandi in hoc volumine

De Fortuna [Περὶ τύχης 82A-B]

cf. dictum Demetrii in Diogene Laertio servatum, Vitae Philosophorum 5.82 = 1.115-16

- **82A** Polybius, *Historiae* 29.21 (BT 4.259.20–261.10 Büttner-Wobst)
- 81 W 1 ώστε πολλάκις καὶ λίαν μνημονεύειν τῆς Δημητρίου
 - 2 τοῦ Φαληρέως φωνής. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς τύχης

- Porphyrogeniti, On Wise Sayings 125 (4.194.28 Boissevain) app. 82A ("in his monograph on Fortune"); Diodorus Siculus, The Library of History 31.10.1 = 82B.2 = Excerpta Constantini Porphyrogeniti, On Wise Sayings 360 (4.373.2 Boissevain) app. 82B ("in his monograph On Fortune")
- On Old Age, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.106;
 9.20 = 84.1 ("in his On Old Age"); 2.13 = 85.7-8 ("in his On Old Age")
- On Dreams, 5 books] Artemidorus, The Interpretation of Dreams 2.44 = 86, where the words do not occur as a title
- 4 Sayings of the Seven Wise Men] Stobaeus, Anthology 3.1.172 = 87.1
- 5 Practical Maxims, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.109
- 6 Matters of Justice, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.107
- 7 (Dialogue) on Love, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.75
- 8 On Pursuits, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.97
- On Greatness of Soul, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81= 1.92
- 10 On Kindness (or Grace), 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.90
- 11 Exhortation, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.84
- cp. On Compassion] unedited papyrus: Papiri della Società Italiana Inv. CNR 70 ("By Demetrius | On Compassion"), on which see Dorandi in this volume

On Fortune [On Fortune 82A-B]

cp. the saying of Demetrius in Diogenes Laertius, The Lives of the Philosophers 5.82 = 1.115-16

- **82A** Polybius, *Histories* 29.21 (*BT* 4.259.20–261.10 Büttner-Wobst)
 - So that I very often indeed think of the utterance of Demetrius
 - 2 of Phalerum. For he in his monograph On Fortune, when he

βησομένων.

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ύπομνήματι βουλόμενος έναργῶς ὑποδεικνύναι τοῖς άνθρώποις τὸ ταύτης εὐμετάβολον, ἐπιστὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς κατ' 'Αλέξανδρον καιρούς, ὅτε κατέλυσε τὴν Περσῶν άρχήν, λέγει ταθτα· "εί γὰρ λάβοι τις μὴ χρόνον ἄπειρον μηδὲ γενεὰς πολλάς, ἀλλὰ πεντήκοντα μόνον ἔτη ταυτὶ τὰ πρὸ ἡμῶν, γνοίητ' ἂν ὡς τὸ τῆς τύχης χαλεπὸν ἐνταῦθα. πεντηκοστὸν γὰρ ἔτος οἴεσθ' ἂν ἢ Πέρσας ἢ βασιλέας τῶν Περσῶν ἢ Μακεδόνας ἢ βασιλέας τῶν 10 Μακεδόνων, εἴ τις θεῶν αὐτοῖς προύλεγε τὸ μέλλον, πιστεῦσαί ποτ' ἂν ὡς εἰς τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν Περσῶν οὐδ' ὄνομα λειφθήσεται τὸ παράπαν, οἳ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐδέσποζον, Μακεδόνες δὲ πάσης κρατοῦσιν, ὧν οὐδ' ὄνομα πρότερον ἦν. ἀλλά πως ἡ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἡμῶν ἀσύνθετος τύχη καὶ πάντα παρὰ λογισμὸν τὸν ἡμέτερον καινοποιούσα καὶ τὴν αὑτῆς δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς παραδόξοις ἐνδεικνυμένη καὶ νῦν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, δείκνυσι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, Μακεδόνας εἰς τὴν Περσῶν εὐδαιμονίαν εἰσοικίσασα, διότι καὶ τούτοις ταῦτα τάγαθὰ 20 κέχρηκεν, έως ἄλλο τι βουλεύσηται περί αὐτῶν." ὃ νῦν γέγονε κατὰ Περσέα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Δημήτριος ὡσανεὶ θείω τινὶ στόματι περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀποπεφοίβακεν. έγὼ δὲ κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν ἐπιστὰς τοῖς καιροῖς καθ' οὓς συνέβη καταλυθήναι την Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν, ούκ 25 ἔκρινον ἀνεπιστάτως παραδραμεῖν, ἄτε γεγονὼς αὐτόπτης τῆς πράξεως, ἀλλ' αὐτός τε τὸν πρέποντα λόγον ἐπιφθέγξασθαι καὶ Δημητρίου μνησθῆναι· δοκεῖ γάρ μοι θειοτέραν ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον τὴν ἀπόφασιν ποιήσασθαι· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα πρό- 30 τερον ἔτεσι τάληθὲς ἀπεφήνατο περὶ τῶν ἔπειτα συμ-

1–32 Exc. Const. De sent. 125 (4.194.27–195.24 Boissevain) 1–21 228 F 39 FGrH

⁶ λάβοι τις] λάβοις πρὸ τῆς ἐννοίας D.S.: λάβοιτ' ἐν νῷ B"uttner-Wobst 7–8 ταυτὶ τὰ $Geel\ e\ D.S.$: ταύτη cod. 8 γνοίητ' αν] γνοίης αν D.S. 9 πεντήκοστον γὰρ ἔτος] πεντηκοστῷ γὰρ ἔτει πρότερον D.S. || οἴεσθ' αν μὴ] οἶσθα μὴ D.S. 10 βασιλέας—βασιλέας] βασιλέα—βασιλέα D.S. 12 ante οὐδ' add. μὲν D.S. 13 post πάσης add. σχεδὸν D.S. 14 ante πάσης add. καὶ D.S. || κρατοῦσιν] κρατήσουσιν D.S. 15 post ἦν add. γνώριμον D.S. || ἀλλά πως] \rightarrow

- wants to show people clearly its changeable nature, points to the decisive moments in Alexander's time when he brought down the
- Persian empire, and states "If one focuses not on an infinite time and on many generations but on just these fifty years behind us, you can see here how hard to overcome is the influence of for-
- tune. Do you think that fifty years ago, if one of the gods had told either the Persians or their Kings or the Macedonians or their Kings, what the future would bring, (they) would ever have believed that by the present time nothing would remain even of the name of the Persians, who were the rulers of all the inhabited world, and that the Macedonians now rule over all of it, who be-
- fore were nameless? No, in a way fortune—which deals with our lives as a free agent, effecting all things in complete disregard of our calculations and demonstrating its power in things we did not
- expect—this time again, it seems to me, shows all people, by establishing the Macedonians in the prosperity that used to be the Persians', that it has lent these blessings to them as well until it
- arrives at a different decision concerning them." And that is what has happened now in the case of Perseus.² This prophetic utterance of Demetrius was spoken as if with a divinely inspired
- 8 mouth about the future. As for me, when in writing I reached the times that the reign of the Macedonians happened to be brought to an end, I did not think it right to pass it over without giving attention to it, because I have been an eyewitness to the train of events; on the contrary, I thought it right both to voice the appropriate
- omment myself and to mention Demetrius. For I think his statement is divine rather than what can be expected of a mere human. For almost a hundred and fifty years before the event he stated the truth about what was going to happen afterwards.

¹ I.e., around 336/5 B.C. according to Jacoby FGrH II b 645 on 228 T 7.

² Perseus, king of Macedonia 179–168 B.C., was defeated at Pydna by the Romans in 168 (Liv. 45.9).

άλλ' ὅμως D.S. 15–16 ἡ—τύχη] ἡ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἡμῶν ἀλογία (Mai: ἀναλογία cod.) τῆς τύχης D.S. 16 παρὰ] παρὰ τὸν D.S. 17–18 παραδόξοις] ἐνδόξοις D.S. 18–19 ὡς ἐμοὶ—ἀνθρώποις] ὡς ὁμοίως ἐνδείκνυται D.S. 19–20 εὐδαιμονίαν] ἡγεμονίαν D.S. 20 εἰσοικίσασα] ἐνοικίσασα D.S. Ι τούτοις] τούτους D.S. | Ι ταῦτα] ἡ τύχη D.S. 21 ἔως] ἕως ἂν D.S.

Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* 31.10 (BT 6.12.13–13.8 Fischer)

81 W

ότι ἀκμαζούσης τῆς τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλείας Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῷ περὶ τύχης ὑπομνήματι, καθάπερ χρησμφδῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῆ συμβησομένων, εὐστόχως τούτους τοὺς λόγους ἀποπεφοίβακεν. ... ὁ συνέβη κατὰ τοὺς νῦν χρόνους συντελεσθῆναι. διόπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκρίναμεν τῆ περιστάσει ταύτη τὸν ἀρμόζοντα λόγον ἐπιφθέγξασθαι καὶ τῆς ἀποφάσεως τῆς Δημητρίου μνησθῆναι, μείζονος οὔσης ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον προεῖπε γὰρ ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεσι περὶ τῶν ὕστερον συμβησομένων.

1–10 Exc. Const. De sent. 360 (4.373.1–22 Boissevain); 228 F 39 FGrH 4 ...] sequuntur verba Demetrii εἰ γὰρ λάβοις—περὶ αὐτῶν = **82A**.6–21

10

5

[Plutarchus], Consolatio ad Apollonium 6 104A-B (BT 1.213.1-8 Gärtner)

79 W

όθεν ὀρθῶς ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος εἰπόντος Εὐριπίδου

"ὁ δ' ὄλβος οὐ βέβαιος ἀλλ' ἐφήμερος" καὶ ὅτι

"μικρὰ τὰ σφάλλοντα, καὶ μί' ἡμέρα τὰ μὲν καθείλεν ὑψόθεν τὰ δ' ἦρ' ἄνω"

τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καλῶς ἔφη λέγειν αὐτόν, βέλτιον δ' ἂν ἔχειν, εἰ μὴ μίαν ἡμέραν ἀλλὰ στιγμὴν εἶπε χρόνου.

1-8 228 F 24 FGrH; Eur. F 547e Mette, Lustrum 12 (1967) 136; Crantor F 4 Mette, Lustrum 26 (1984) 18 3 Eur. Phoen. 558; versus a Crantore laudatur ap. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. 11.55 5-6 Stob. 4.41.1 = Eur. F 420.2-3 $N.^2$ = F 547e Mette

⁹ ἔτεσι] 'an (πρότερον) ἔτεσι?' Boissevain: ἔτη Fischer

⁵ μικρὰ τὰ Stob.: μικρότατα codd. || σφάλλοντα Stob.: σφάλλονται codd. 7-8 ἂν ἔχειν Paton et Wyttenbach: εἶχεν ὂν (ἂν Β) codd. 8 μίαν ... χρόνου] cf. Sen. Ep. 91.6 hora momentumque temporis || εἶπε] εἶχε Φ

82B Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History* 31.10 (*BT* 6.12.13–13.8 Fischer)

That, at a time when the reign of the Macedonians was at its height, Demetrius of Phalerum in his monograph On Fortune, as if prophesying about what would happen to it, hit the truth by uttering the following prophetic words: ... And that has actually been fulfilled in the present times. For that very reason we have thought it fitting to voice the appropriate comment upon this reversal (of fortune) and to mention the statement of Demetrius, since it was greater than is to be expected of a human being. For he made a prediction one hundred and fifty years ahead about what was going to happen later on.

¹ These words are quoted in **82A**.6–21.

83 [Plutarch], Condolence Addressed to Apollonius 6 104A–B (BT 1.213.1–8 Gärtner)

This is why Demetrius of Phalerum was correct in his response to Euripides when he said

"Bliss does not last beyond one day," and that

"little things are enough to cause one's fall, and a single day has brought one down from high above and raised the other."²

B Demetrius said that Euripides was right about the rest but would have done better to say not "one day" but "one point in time."

¹ Said by Iocasta to Eteocles (Eur. *Phoen.* 558).

² A fragment from Euripides' *Ino* according to Stobaeus. The preceding verse of the fragment makes clear that this statement is applied to tyrants in particular.

De Senectute [Περὶ γήρως 84–5]

Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 9.20 (OCT 2.446.24-447.3 Long)

83 w φησὶ δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ γήρως καὶ Παναίτιος ὁ Στωικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ εὐθυμίας ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ θάψαι τοὺς υἱεῖς αὐτόν, καθάπερ καὶ 'Αναξα-γόραν.

1–4 228 F 37 FGrH; Panaetius F 45 van Straaten = T 86 Alesse; Xenophanes 21 A 1 DK (I 114.7–10) 3–4 'Αναξαγόραν] cf. 85, 94

1-2 καὶ —εὐθυμίας om. F

82W

99 W

Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 2.13 (OCT 1.62.8–15 Long)

ότε καὶ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῷ προσαγγελέντων, τῆς τε καταδίκης καὶ τῆς τῶν παίδων τελευτῆς, εἰπεῖν περὶ μὲν τῆς καταδίκης, ὅτι ἄρα "κἀκείνων κἀμοῦ πάλαι ἡ φύσις κατεψηφίσατο," περὶ δὲ τῶν παίδων, ὅτι "ἤδειν αὐτοὺς θνητοὺς γεννήσας." οἱ δ' εἰς Σόλωνα τοῦτ' ἀναφέρουσιν, ἄλλοι εἰς Ξενοφῶντα. τοῦτον δὲ καὶ θάψαι ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶν αὐτοὺς Δημήτριός φησιν ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ γήρως.

1-8 228 F 38 FGrH; Anaxagoras 59 A 1 DK (II 7.5-10); cf. 84, 94

1 προσαγγελθέντων ΕΦ

De insomniis [Περὶ 'Ονείρων 86]

86 Artemidorus, Onirocriticon 2.44 (BT 179.11–18 Pack)

ονείρους δὲ ἀποβεβηκότας καὶ τὰς ἀποβάσεις αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐνεδέχετο γράφειν ἐν τέχνῃ ὀνειροκριτικῇ καὶ ὑποθήκαις θεωρημάτων. οὐδέ μοι πιθανὰ ἐδόκει ταῦτα, καίτοι Γεμίνου τοῦ Τυρίου καὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως καὶ ᾿Αρτέμωνος τοῦ Μιλησίου τοῦ μὲν ἐν τρισὶ δὶ βιβλίοις τοῦ δὲ ἐν πέντε τοῦ δὲ ἐν εἰκοσιδύο πολλοὺς ὀνείρους ἀναγραψαμένων καὶ μάλιστα συνταγὰς καὶ

On Old Age [On Old Age 84-5]

Diogenes Laertius, The Lives of the Philosophers 9.20 (OCT 2.446.24-447.3 Long)

Demetrius of Phalerum in his On Old Age and Panaetius the Stoic in his On Being of Good Cheer say that he (Xenophanes) buried his sons with his own hands, just like Anaxagoras.

Diogenes Laertius, The Lives of the Philosophers 2.13 (OCT 1.62.8–15 Long)

And when he (Anaxagoras) was informed of these two things, both the verdict against him and the death of his children, his comment on the verdict was "Nature sentenced both them and me to death long ago," and about his children "I knew they were mortal when I begot them." There are also people who attribute this latter saying to Solon, and others to Xenophon. That he (Anaxagoras) actually buried them with his own hands is asserted by Demetrius of Phalerum in his *On Old Age*.

On Dreams [On Dreams 86]

Artemidorus, The Interpretation of Dreams 2.44 (BT 179.11–18 Pack)

But it was not possible to describe dreams that had come true and their outcome in a handbook on interpreting dreams and in instructions for observations. Nor do these strike me as convincing, even though Geminus of Tyrus, Demetrius of Phalerum and Artemon of Miletus in works of three, five and twenty-two books respectively have produced records of numerous dreams, particu-

114 W

θεραπείας τὰς ἀπὸ Σαράπιδος δοθείσας.

8 θεραπείας—δοθείσας] D.L. 5.76 (= 1.19-20); de Serapide cf. Str. 17.1.17

1–8 deest in L 4 Τυρίου Rigault: πυρίου V 8 ἀπὸ V: ὑπὸ Pack

Demetrii Ecloga Sententiarum

de ecloga sententiarum a Demetrio collecta vide W. Brunco, 'De dictis VII sapientium a Demetrio Phalereo collectis,' Acta Seminarii Philologici Erlangensis 3 (1884) 299-397; O. Hense ad Stobaei Anthologium 3.1.172, III.112-25; W. Bühler, 'Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Sprüche der sieben Weisen,' Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I. Philol.-Hist. Klasse, 1989.1, 1-36; M. Tziatzi-Papagianni, Die Sprüche der sieben Weisen. Zwei byzantinische Sammlungen. Einleitung, Text, Testimon-ien und Kommentar. Stuttgart & Leipzig 1994 (= Beiträge zur Altertums-kunde, 51), 2-5.

testimonia collecta sunt a Brunco 1884, 325–83 et Tziatzi-Papagianni 1994 (*Rec. Par.*₁ 131–254; *Rec. Par.*₂ 257–336; *Rec. Mon.* 365–434). praeterea cf. 'Die sieben Weisen' 10 no. 3 DK I 62–6.

87 Stobaeus, *Anthologium* 3.1.172 (3.111.8–125.2 Hense)

Δημητρίου Φαληρέως τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν ἀποφθέγματα.

α΄ Κλεόβουλος Εὐαγόρου Λίνδιος ἔφη·

1. μέτρον ἄριστον. 2. πατέρα δεῖ αἰδεῖσθαι. 3. εὖ τὸ σῶμα ἔχειν καὶ τὴν ψυχήν. 4. φιλήκοον εἶναι καὶ μὴ πολύλαλον. 5. πολυμαθῆ † ἢ ἀμαθῆ. 6. γλῶσσαν 5 εὕφημον κεκτῆσθαι. 7. ἀρετῆς οἰκεῖον ⟨εἶναι⟩, κακίας ἀλλότριον. 8. ἀδικίαν μισεῖν. 9. εὐσέβειαν φυλάσσειν. 10. πολίταις τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλεύειν. 11. ἡδονῆς κρατεῖν. 12. βία μηδὲν πράττειν. 13. τέκνα παιδεύειν. 14. τύχη εὕχεσθαι. 15. ἔχθρας διαλύειν. 16. τὸν τοῦ δήμου 10 ἐχθρὸν πολέμιον νομίζειν. 17. γυναικὶ μὴ μάχεσθαι μηδὲ ἄγαν † φρονεῖν ἀλλοτρίων παρόντων τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄνοιαν, τὸ δὲ μανίαν δύναται παρέχειν. 18. οἰκέτας μεθύοντας μὴ κολάζειν εἰ δὲ μή, δόξεις παροινεῖν. 19. γαμεῖν ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐὰν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν κρειττόνων, 15 δεσπότας, οὐ συγγενεῖς κτήση. 20. μὴ ἐπιγέλα τῷ

larly of orders and cures provided by Sarapis.

Selection of Sayings (made) by Demetrius

On the selection of sayings collected by Demetrius of Phalerum see W. Brunco, 'De dictis VII sapientium a Demetrio Phalereo collectis,' Acta Seminarii Philologici Erlangensis 3 (1884) 299–397; O. Hense on Stobaeus' Anthology 3.1.172, III.112–25; W. Bühler, 'Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Sprüche der sieben Weisen,' Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I. Philol.-Hist. Klasse, 1989.1, 1–36; M. Tziatzi-Papagianni, Die Sprüche der sieben Weisen. Zwei byzantinische Sammlungen. Einleitung, Text, Testimonien und Kommentar. Stuttgart & Leipzig 1994 (= Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, 51), 2–5.

The testimonia have been collected by Brunco 1884, 325–83 and by Tziatzi-Papagianni 1994 (*Rec. Par.*₁ 131–254; *Rec. Par.*₂ 257–336; *Rec. Mon.* 365–434).

Cp. also 'Die sieben Weisen' 10 no. 3 DK I 62-6.

87 Stobaeus, *Anthology* 3.1.172 (3.111.8–125.2 Hense)

Sayings of the Seven Wise Men by Demetrius of Phalerum

1: Cleobulus, son of Euagoras, of Lindus said:

1. Due measure (is) best. 2. One should respect one's father. 3. Be well in body and in soul. 4. Enjoy listening and do not talk too much. 5. Very learned †than/or† unlearned. 6. Keep your tongue well-spoken. 7. Be at home with virtue, a stranger to badness. 8. Hate injustice. 9. Watch over piety. 10. To your fellow-citizens give the best advice. 11. Conquer pleasure. 12. Do not do anything by force. 13. Educate your children. 14. Pray to Fortune. 15. Resolve enmities. 16. Consider the person hostile to the people your enemy. 17. Do not fight with a woman nor †have thoughts too much† in the presence of strangers: the one can suggest foolishness, the other madness. 18. Do not punish slaves when they are drunk; if you do, you will seem intoxicated yourself. 19. Marry among your equals; for if you (marry) among your betters, you will get overlords, not in-laws. 20. Do not laugh when one

σκώπτοντι· ἀπεχθης γὰρ ἔση τοῖς σκωπτομένοις. 21. εύποροθντα μη υπερήφανον είναι, άποροθντα μη ταπεινοῦσθαι.

nos. 2, 3, 4–7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15-21 = nos. 2, 3–4, 5–8, 10, 9, 11-12, 13, 14-20 Par., nos. 1, 12-14 desunt in Par., cf. Mon. 1, 15-16, 2 1 Par. 1 habet θεὸν σέβεσθαι (cf. Solonis no. 15) $\parallel 1-19 = Ars.$ 187.21– 188.10 Walz, omisso α΄ Κλεόβουλος---ἔφη no. 1 D.L. 1.93 nos. 3-8; 10-13; 15 D.L. 1.92 nos. 17-21 D.L. 1.92-3, ubi sequitur τὰς μεταβολάς τῆς τύχης γενναίως ἐπίστασο φέρειν nos. 2, 9, 14 et 16 desunt in D.L.

 $no.\ 2$ πατέρα δε \hat{i}] γονέας Par_1 $no.\ 3$ κόσμιον ε \hat{i} ναι τὸ σ $\hat{\omega}$ μα. ἀσκε \hat{i} ν τὴν ψυχήν Par. [" ἔχειν—ψυχήν] ἀσκεῖν D.L. no. 4 φιλήκοον εἶναι, φιλομαθή Par, \parallel καὶ μὴ πολύλαλον] μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόλαλον D.L. no. 5 φιλομαθή μαλλον ή άμαθή D.L.: όψιμαθή μαλλον είναι ή ἀμαθη Par.

β΄ Σόλων Ἐξηκεστίδου Ἀθηναῖος ἔφη·

20

1. μηδὲν ἄγαν. 2. κριτής μὴ κάθησο εἰ δὲ μή, τῷ ληφθέντι έχθρὸς ἔση. 3. ἡδονὴν φεῦγε, ήτις λύπην τίκτει. 4. φύλασσε τρόπου καλοκαγαθίαν ὅρκου πιστοτέραν. 5. σφραγίζου τοὺς μὲν λόγους σιγῆ, τὴν δὲ σιγὴν καιρῷ. 6. μη ψεύδου, άλλ' άλήθευε. 7. τὰ σπουδαῖα μελέτα. 8. τῶν 25 γονέων μη λέγε δικαιότερα. 9. φίλους μη ταχύ κτῶ, ούς δ' ἂν κτήση, μὴ ταχὺ ἀποδοκίμαζε. 10. ἄρχεσθαι μαθών, άρχειν ἐπιστήση. 11. εὐθύνας ἑτέρους ἀξιῶν διδόναι, καὶ αὐτὸς ὕπεχε. 12. συμβούλευε μὴ τὰ ἥδιστα, ἀλλὰ τὰ βέλτιστα. 13. τοῖς πολίταις μὴ θρασύνου. 14. μὴ κακοῖς 30 όμίλει. 15. χρώ τοῖς θεοῖς. 16. φίλους εὐσέβει. 17. ὃ ἂν (μή) ἴδης μή λέγε. 18. εἰδὼς σίγα. 19. τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πρᾶος ἴσθι. 20. τὰ ἀφανῆ τοῖς φανεροῖς τεκμαίρου.

nos. 2-3, 4, 5, 6, 8-9, 10-11, 12-13, 14-15, 17-18 = nos. 1-2, 3-4, 4(a), 5, 6-7, 8, 9-10, 12-13, 14 Par., nos. 1, 7, 19 desunt in Par., cf. Mon. 1, 7, 17 nos. 16 et 20 desunt in Par. 1 | no. 1 D.L. 1.63 no. 2 cf. D.L. 1.87 (vita Biantis) no. 4 D.L. 1.60 no. 5 D.L. 1.58 nos. 6-7; 9-10; 12; 14–15 D.L. 1.60 no. 20 post τεκμαίρου addit ἰσχύι χρῶ πρὸς πολεμίους, πρὸς δὲ οἰκείους αἰσχύνη $Br (= no. 11 Par._1)$ nos. 3, 8, 11, 13, 16–20 desunt in D.L. || desunt in Stob. D.L. 1.60 νοῦν ἡγεμόνα ποιοῦ (cf. Solonis Mon. 13) et γονέας αἰδοῦ (cf. Cleobuli no. 2 Par. 1)

no. 2 φίλων κριτής μή γίνου Par. 1 no. 4 καλοκάγαθίαν ὅρκου πιστοτέραν ἔχε D.L.: φυλάσσου τὸν τρόπον. καλοκαγαθίας ὀρέγου

person is making fun of (another); for you will be hateful to the persons who are being made fun of. 21. When affluent, do not be highhanded, when without means, do not be humble.

πο. 6 κεκτῆσθαι] ἴσχειν D.L. πο. 7 εἶναι add. e D.L. Hense πο. 8 μισεῖν] φεύγειν D.L. πο. 9 εὐσέβειαν] εὕκλειαν Par_1 πο. 10 ποιεῖν τὰ βέλτιστα. συμβουλεύειν καλῶς Par_1 \parallel πολίταις] πόλει D.L. πο. 16 ἐχθρὸν] ἀλλότριον Par_1 πο. 17 μὴ μάχεσθαι—φρονεῖν] μὴ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι (φίλα φρονεῖν Par_1) μηδὲ μάχεσθαι D.L., Par_1 \parallel δύναται παρέχειν] σημαίνει D.L., Par_1 πο. 18 οἰκέτας μεθύοντας] οἰκέτην πάροινον D.L. \parallel εἰ δὲ μή—παροινεῖν] δοκεῖν γὰρ παροινεῖν D.L. πο. 19 δεσπότας—κτήση] λάβης, δεσπότας κτήση τοὺς συγγενέας D.L., Par_1 (δεσπότας καὶ οὐ συγγενεῖς) πο. 20 μὴ ἐπιγελᾶν τοῖς σκωπτομένοις ἀπεχθήσεσθαι γὰρ τούτοις D.L. \parallel ἀποροῦντα] ἀπορήσας D.L. \parallel μὴ ὑπερήφανος γίνου εὐπορήσας Par_1

2: Solon, son of Execestides, of Athens said:

1. Nothing in excess. 2. Do not sit down in judgment; if you do, you will be hateful to the person caught. 3. Avoid the pleasure which produces pain. 4. Maintain nobility of character: that inspires more confidence than an oath. 5. Strike down words with silence, silence with timing. 6. Do not lie, but speak the truth. 7. Apply yourself to what is worth your while. 8. Do not be in what you say more righteous than your parents. 9. Do not make friends quickly nor be quick to drop those you have got. 10. When you have learned to let yourself be governed, then you will know how to govern (others). 11. If you expect others to give account (of their actions), then be prepared to do so yourself. 12. Do not advise what is most pleasant, but what is best. 13. Do not be overbold towards your fellow-citizens. 14. Have no dealings with bad persons. 15. Consult the gods. 16. Revere your friends. 17. Do not make assertions about what you have not seen. 18. Keep your knowledge to yourself. 19. Be gentle towards those close to you. 20. Figure out what is unclear from what is clear.

 $Par._{1}$ no. 6 ἀλλ' ἀλήθευε deest in D.L. no. 9 οὺς—ἀποδοκίμαζε om. $Par._{1}$ ll alter ταχὺ om. D.L. no. 10 ἄρχε πρῶτον μαθὼν ἄρχεσθαι D.L.: μὴ ἄρχε πρὸ τοῦ μαθεῖν ἄρχεσθαι· ἐπιστήση γὰρ ἑτέρους εὐθύνειν $Par._{1}$ no. 12 βέλτιστα] ἄριστα D.L.: κράτιστα $Par._{1}$ no. 15 θεοὺς τίμα D.L.: θεοῖς θῦε εὐσεβῶς $Par._{1}$ no. 17 λέγε] λάλει $Par._{1}$ no. 18 ἰδὼν δὲ σίγα $Par._{1}$ una cum no. 17

γ΄ Χείλων Δαμαγήτου Λακεδαιμόνιος ἔφη·

1. γνῶθι σαυτόν. 2. πίνων, μὴ πολλὰ λάλει · άμαρτήση 35 γάρ. 3. μὴ ἀπείλει τοῖς ἐλευθέροις · οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον. 4. μὴ κακολόγει τους πλησίον εί δὲ μή, ἀκούση ἐφ' οίς λυπηθήση. 5. ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα τῶν φίλων βραδέως πορεύου, έπὶ δὲ τὰς ἀτυχίας ταχέως. 6. γάμους εὐτελεῖς ποιοῦ. 7. τὸν τετελευτηκότα μακάριζε. 8. πρεσβύτερον σέβου. 9. τὸν τὰ ἀλλότρια περιεργαζόμενον μίσει. 10. ζημίαν αίρου μαλλον η κέρδος αισχρόν το μεν γαρ απαξ λυπήσει, τὸ δὲ ἀεί. 11. τῷ δυστυχοῦντι μὴ ἐπιγέλα. 12. τραχύς ὤν, ήσυχον σεαυτὸν πάρεχε, ὅπως σε αἰσχύνωνται μαλλον, ή φοβώνται. 13. της ίδίας οἰκίας προ- 45 στάτει. 14. ἡ γλῶσσά σου μὴ προτρεχέτω τοῦ νοῦ. 15. θυμοῦ κράτει. 16. μὴ ἐπιθύμει ἀδύνατα. 17a. ἐν ὁδῷ μὴ σπεῦδε προάγειν, 17b. μηδὲ τὴν χεῖρα κινεῖν· μανικὸν γάρ. 18. νόμοις πείθου. 19. ἀδικούμενος διαλλάσσου· ύβριζόμενος τιμωροῦ.

nos. 1, 2–13, 14, 15, 16–18 = nos. 21, 1–12, 14, 13, 16–19 Par. $_{1}$ 19 deest in Par. 1, cf. Mon. 19 no. 22 Par. 1 habet μηδεν ἄγαν (Solonis no. 1), 23 ἐγγύα, πάρα δ' ἄτα (Thaletis no. 1) || no. 1 D.L. 1.40 (in vita Thaletis) no. 2 D.L. 1.69 no. 3 D.L. 1.70 no. 4 D.L. 1.69 no. 19 deest in D.L. desunt in Stob. D.L. 1.70 5–18 D.L. 1.70 μαντικήν μη έχθαίρειν (cf. no. 15 Par. , μάτην μη ἔλεγχε· δόξεις γὰρ ἀσεβεῖν) et ἠρεμία χρῆσθαι (= no. 20 Par. 1)

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no. 2 γλώττης κρατείν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν συμποσίῳ D.L. *no. 3* μή άπειλεῖν μηδενί· γυναικῶδες γάρ D.L. no. 5 ταχύτερον ἐπὶ τὰς

δ΄ Θαλης Έξαμίου Μιλήσιος ἔφη·

1. ἐγγύα, πάρα δ' ἄτα. 2. φίλων παρόντων καὶ άπόντων μέμνησο. 3. μη την όψιν καλλωπίζου, άλλ' έν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἴσθι καλός. 4. μὴ πλούτει κακῶς. 5. μή σε διαβαλλέτω λόγος πρὸς τοὺς πίστεως κεκοι- 55 νωνηκότας. 6. κολακεύειν γονείς μὴ ὄκνει. 7. μὴ προσδέχου τὸ φαῦλον. 8. οἵους ἂν ἐράνους ἐνέγκης τοῖς γονεῦσι, τούτους αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ γήρᾳ παρὰ τῶν τέκνων προσδέχου. 9. χαλεπὸν τὸ εὖ γνῶναι. 10. ἥδιστον τὸ έπιθυμίας τυχεῖν. 11. ἀνιαρὸν ἀργία. 12. βλαβερὸν ∞

- 3. Chilon, son of Demagetes, of Lacedaemon said:
- 1. Know yourself. 2. When drinking, do not talk much; for you will make mistakes. 3. Do not threaten free-born people; it is not just. 4. Do not abuse your neighbors; if you do, you will hear things that will hurt you. 5. Be slow in attending your friends' dinners, quick in attending to their misfortunes. 6. When you marry, do it cheaply. 7. Bless the dead. 8. Respect an older person. 9. Hate anyone meddling with another person's affairs. 10. Prefer loss to shameful gain; for the former will hurt once, the latter always. 11. Do not laugh at anyone's misfortune. 12. If you are in a savage mood, keep yourself calm, in order that people may feel shame before you rather than fright. 13. Be master of your own house. 14. Do not let your tongue run faster than your mind. 15. Control your temper. 16. Do not desire the impossible. 17a. On the street, do not hurry to press forward (17b.) nor gesticulate too much, for that will make you look like a madman. 18. Obey laws. 19. When treated unjustly, arrange a settlement; when treated insultingly, take revenge.

ἀτυχίας τῶν φίλων ἢ ἐπὶ τὰς εὐτυχίας πορεύεσθαι D.L. no. 7 τὸν τεθνηκότα μὴ κακολογεῖν D.L. no. 8 γῆρας τιμᾶν D.L. no. 9 cf. φυλάττειν ἑαυτόν D.L. no. 10 τὸ μὲν γὰρ—ἀεί] ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἄπαξ ἐλύπησε, τὸ δὲ διὰ παντός D.L. no. 11 τῷ δυστυχοῦντι] ἀτυχοῦντι D.L., $Par._{I}$ no. 12 ἰσχυρὸν ὄντα πρᾶον εἶναι, ὅπως οἱ πλησίον αἰδῶνται μᾶλλον ἢ φοβῶνται D.L. no. 13 μανθάνειν τῆς αὐτοῦ οἰκίας καλῶς προστατεῖν D.L. \parallel post προστάτει add. ὀρθῶς $Par._{I}$ no. 17a ἐν ὁδῷ μὴ σπεύδειν D.L.: μὴ σπεῦδε λαλῶν · ἄνοια γάρ $Par._{I}$ no. 17b μηδὲ—κινεῖν] λέγοντα μὴ κινεῖν τὴν χεῖρα D.L., $Par._{I}$

4: Thales, son of Examius, of Miletus said:

1. Go surety and ruin is at hand. 2. Remember your friends, be they present or absent. 3. Do not beautify your appearance, but be beautiful in what you do. 4. Do not grow rich by ill means. 5. Do not let words alienate you from those who have a share in your trust. 6. Do not hesitate to flatter your parents. 7. Do not accept what is mean. 8. In old age accept from your children services similar to those you rendered your parents. 9. Good judgment is difficult. 10. Sweetest (of all) is the attainment of one's desires.

ἀκρασία. 13. βαρὺ ἀπαιδευσία. 14. δίδασκε καὶ μάνθανε τὸ ἄμεινον. 15. ἀργὸς μὴ ἴσθι, μηδ' ἂν πλουτῆς. 16. κακὰ ἐν οἴκῳ κρύπτε. 17. † φθόνου χάριν μὴ οἰκτείρου. 18. μέτρῳ χρῶ. 19. μὴ πᾶσι πίστευε. 20. ἄρχων κόσμει σεαυτόν.

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nos. 2–10, 12–16, 18–20 = nos. 1–9, 10–14, 15–17 Par. $_1$ nos. 1 et 11, 17 desunt in Par. $_1$, cf. Chilonis no. 23 Par. $_1$ et Thaletis Mon. 5 no. 18 Par. $_1$ habet ἀγαθὸς ἴσθι || no. 1 D.L. 1.73 (in vita Chilonis) nos. 2–5 D.L. 1.37 no. 8 D.L. 1.37 nos. 9–10 D.L. 1.36 no. 13 D.L. 1.37 nos. 6, 7, 11–12, 14–20 desunt in D.L.

no. 3 άλλ' έν] άλλὰ D.L. no. 7 πατρὸς λοιδορίαν μὴ δέχου · φαῦλον

ε΄ Πιττακὸς Ύρραδίου Λέσβιος ἔφη·

1. καιρὸν γνῶθι. 2. ὁ μέλλεις ποιεῖν, μὴ λέγε ἀποτυχὼν γὰρ καταγελασθήση. 3. τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις χρῶ. 4. ὅσα νεμεσᾶς τῷ πλησίον, αὐτὸς μὴ ποίει. 5. ἀπραγοῦντα μὴ ὀνείδιζε ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοις νέμεσις θεῶν το κάθηται. 6. παρακαταθήκας ἀπόδος. 7. ἀνέχου ὑπὸ τῶν πλησίον μικρὰ ἐλαττούμενος. 8. τὸν φίλον κακῶς μὴ λέγε, μηδ' εὖ τὸν ἐχθρόν · ἀσυλλόγιστον γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον. 9. δεινὸν συνιδεῖν τὸ μέλλον, ἀσφαλὲς τὸ γενόμενον. 10. πιστὸν γῆ, ἄπιστον θάλασσα. 11. ἄπληστον κέρδος. 12. το κτῆσαι ἀίδια · θεραπείαν, εὐσέβειαν, παιδείαν, σωφροσύνην, φρόνησιν, ἀλήθειαν, πίστιν, ἐμπειρίαν, ἐπιδεξι-ότητα, ἑταιρείαν, ἐπιμέλειαν, οἰκονομίαν, τέχνην.

nos. 2–8, 9, 10, 11, 12 = nos. 1–7, 10, 11, 11, 12 Par_1 no. 1 deest in Par_1 no. 8 Par_1 habet εὐχαρίστει παντί et no. 9 Par_1 χρόνος μέγιστον ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ ἀρμόσει, φρένας || no. 1 D.L. 1.79 nos. 2; 5–6; 8 D.L. 1.78 nos. 9–10 D.L. 1.77 no. 12 D.L. 1.78 nos. 3–4, 7, 11 desunt in D.L.

πο. 2 ποιεῖν] πράττειν D.L. \parallel καταγελασθήση] γελασθήση D.L., Par_{I} πο. 5 ἀτυχίαν μὴ ὀνειδίζειν, νέμεσιν αἰδόμενον D.L. πο. 6 ante ἀπόδος add. λαβόντα D.L., λαβὼν Par_{I} πο. 8 φίλον μὴ λέγειν κακῶς, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐχθρόν D.L.: τὸν φίλον κακῶς μὴ λέγε· μηδὲ τὸν ἐχθρὸν φίλον ἡγοῦ Par_{I} πο. 9 πρὸς τοὺς πυνθανομένους τί ... ἀφανές, (ἔφη) 'τὸ μέλλον' D.L. \parallel τὸ γενόμενον ἀφανές, τὸ μέλλον μήκιστον Par_{I} πο. 10 γῆ πιστόν, θάλασσα ἄπιστον κέρδος Par_{I} πο. 11 ν. ad no. 10 πο. 12 εὐσέβειαν ἀσκεῖν.

11. Idleness is annoying. 12. Lack of self-restraint is harmful. 13. Stupidity is burdensome. 14. Teach and learn what is better. 15. Do not be idle, even if you are rich. 16. Hide your troubles indoors. 17. †To avoid envy† do not show pity. 18. Use moderation. 19. Do not trust everyone. 20. When in office, dress with dignity.

γάρ Par_1 no. 8 οἵους] οὓς D.L., Par_1 || τούτους—προσδέχου] τοὺς αὐτοὺς προσδέχου καὶ παρὰ τῶν τέκνων D.L. no. 9 ἐρωτηθεὶς τί δύσκολον, ἔφη, 'τὸ ἑαυτὸν γνῶναι' D.L. no. 10 ἐρωτηθεὶς ... τί ἥδιστον, 'τὸ ἐπιτυγχάνειν' D.L. no. 11 cf. ἀργίαν μὴ φίλει Mon. no. 12 cf. βλαβερὸν ἐγγύη Par_1 no. 13 cf. ἐρωτηθεὶς ... τίς εὐδαίμων, 'ὁ ... τὴν δὲ φύσιν εὐπαίδευτος' D.L. no. 16 τὰ καλὰ ἐν οἴκφ κρύπτε Par_1 no. 17 v. T.-P. ad Par_1 no. 14 p. 203

5: Pittacus, son of Hyrrhadius, of Lesbos said:

1. Know the right moment. 2. Do not let on what you are going to do; for if you fail, you will be laughed at. 3. Make use of your friends. 4. Do not do yourself what you resent in your neighbor. 5. Do not reproach anyone with his misfortune; for the wrath of the gods sits heavily on those who do. 6. Return what has been deposited with you. 7. Put up with being outstripped by your neighbors in small things. 8. Do not speak ill of a friend nor well of an enemy; for such conduct is illogical. 9. It is frightening to survey the future but safe to survey the past. 10. The earth is to be trusted, the sea to be distrusted. 11. Desire of gain is insatiable. 12. Acquire things which last forever: care, piety, education, temperance, practical wisdom, truthfulness, trust(worthiness), experience, tact, comradeship, diligence, frugality, skill(fulness).

σωφροσύνην φιλεῖν. ἀλήθειαν ἔχειν, πίστιν, ἐμπειρίαν, ἐπιδεξιότητα, ἑταιρίαν, ἐπιμέλειαν D.L. \parallel ἀίδια om. $Par_1 \parallel$ ante θεραπείαν add. καλοκαγαθίαν $Par_1 \parallel$ φρόνησιν et ἐπιμέλειαν—τέχνην om. Par_1

ζ΄ Βίας Τευταμίδου Πριηνεύς ἔφη·

1. οἱ πλεῖστοι ἄνθρωποι κακοί. 2. ἐς τὸ ἔσοπτρον [ἔφη] 80 ἐμβλέψαντα δεῖ, εἰ μὲν καλὸς φαίνῃ, καλὰ ποιεῖν, εἰ δὲ αίσχρός, τὸ τῆς φύσεως έλλιπὲς διορθοῦσθαι τῆ καλοκαγαθία. 3. βραδέως έγχείρει δ δ' αν άρξη, διαβεβαιοῦ. 4. μίσει τὸ ταχὸ λαλεῖν, μὴ ἁμάρτης. μετάνοια γὰρ ἀκολουθεῖ. 5. μήτ' εὐήθης ἴσθι, μήτε 85 κακοήθης. 6. ἀφροσύνην μὴ προσδέχου. 7. φρόνησιν άγάπα. 8. περί θεῶν λέγε, ὡς εἰσὶ θεοί. 9. νόει τὸ πραττόμενον. 10. ἄκουε πολλά. 11. λάλει καίρια. 12. πένης ὢν πλουσίοις μὴ ἐπιτίμα, ἢν μὴ μέγα ἀφελῆς. 13. άνάξιον ἄνδρα μὴ ἐπαίνει διὰ πλοῦτον. 14. πείσας λάβε, 90 μη βιασάμενος. 15. ὅ τι ἂν ἀγαθὸν πράσσης, θεούς, μη σεαυτὸν αἰτιῶ. 16. κτῆσαι ἐν μὲν νεότητι εὐπραξίαν, ἐν δὲ τῷ γήρα σοφίαν. 17. ἕξεις ἔργῳ μνήμην, καιρῷ εὐλάβειαν, τρόπω γενναιότητα, πόνω ἐγκράτειαν, φόβω εὐσέβειαν, πλούτω φιλίαν, λόγω πειθώ, σιγή κόσμον, 95 γνώμη δικαιοσύνην, τόλμη ἀνδρείαν, πράξει δυναστείαν, δόξη ἡγεμονίαν.

nos. 2–10, 12–15, 16–17 = nos. 1–8, 10–13, 14 Par_{1} nos. 1 et 11 desunt in Par_{1} || no. 1 D.L. 1.87 et 1.88 nos. 3–4 D.L. 1.87 nos. 7–8; 13–16 D.L. 1.88 nos. 2, 5, 6, 9–12, 17 desunt in D.L.

πο. 2 καλὰ ποιεῖν] ἄξια τούτου πρᾶττε Par_1 || φύσεως] ὄψεως Par_1 || διορθοῦσθαι] ὡράιζε Par_1 πο. 3 βραδέως ἐγχείρει τοῖς πραττομένοις · ὃ δ' ἂν ἕλη, βεβαίως τηρῶν διάμενε D.L.: βραδέως ἐγχείρει · ὃ δ' ἂν ἕλη, διάμενε βεβαίως Par_1 πο. 4 μὴ ταχὺ λάλει · μανίαν

η΄ Περίανδρος Κυψέλου Κορίνθιος ἔφη·

1. μελέτα τὸ πᾶν. 2α. καλὸν ἡσυχία· 2b. ἐπισφαλὲς προπέτεια. 3. κέρδος αἰσχρὸν φύσεως κατηγορία. 4. 100 δημοκρατία κρεῖττον τυραννίδος. 5. αὶ μὲν ἡδοναὶ θνηταί, αἱ δ' ἀρεταὶ ἀθάνατοι. 6. εὐτυχῶν μὲν μέτριος ἴσθι, ἀτυχῶν δὲ φρόνιμος. 7. φειδόμενον κρεῖττον ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῶντα ἐνδεῖσθαι. 8. σεαυτὸν ἄξιον παρασκεύαζε τῶν γονέων. 9. ζῶν μὲν ἐπαινοῦ, ἀποθανὼν δὲ 105 μακαρίζου. 10. φίλοις εὐτυχοῦσι καὶ ἀτυχοῦσιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἴσθι. 11. ὃν ἂν ἑκὼν ὁμολογήσης πονηρόν, παράβαινε. 12. λόγων ἀπορρήτων ἐκφορὰν μὴ ποιοῦ. 13. λοιδοροῦ ὡς

6: Bias, son of Teutamides, of Priene said:

1. Most people are evil. 2. If a look into the mirror shows you to be a fine person [he said], you must do fine things; if an ugly one, you must compensate for your natural deficiency with fineness of character. 3. Be slow to undertake things, but whatever you have started, carry that out to the end. 4. Hate speaking quickly, to avoid mistakes, for regret follows. 5. Be neither naïve nor suspicious. 6. Do not welcome folly. 7. Cherish wisdom. 8. About gods, say that there are gods. 9. Mark what is being done. 10. Keep your ears open to many things. 11. Say what suits the moment. 12. If you are poor, do not reprove rich people, unless you render a great service by it. 13. Do not praise an unworthy man because of his wealth. 14. Use persuasion, not violence, to get what you want. 15. Whatever good you do, give the gods the credit for it, not yourself. 16. Attain good conduct while young and wisdom in old age. 17. You will have remembrance due to deeds, discretion to moderation, nobility to character, self-control to exertion, piety to fear, friendship to wealth, persuasion to speech, dignity to silence, justice to insight, courage to daring, power to action, leadership to reputation.

γὰρ ἐμφαίνει D.L. \parallel μὴ ἀμάρτης—ἀκολουθεῖ] ἄνοια γάρ Par_1 no. 8 θεοί om. D.L. \parallel περὶ θεοῦ μὴ λέγε κακῶς · ὅτι δ ' ἔστιν ἄκουε Par_1 no. 15 ἐὰν ἀγαθὸν πράττης, θεῷ ἄναπτε, μὴ σεαυτὸν αἰτιῶ Par_1 \parallel θεούς—αἰτιῶ] εἰς θεοὺς ἀνάπεμπε D.L. no. 16 ἐφόδιον ἀπὸ νεότητος εἰς γῆρας ἀναλάμβανε σοφίαν · βεβαιότερον γὰρ τοῦτο τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων D.L. \parallel εὐπραξίαν Par_1 no. 17 ἕξεις om. Par_1 \parallel ἀνδρείαν \parallel ἀνδραγαθίαν Par_1 \parallel post δυναστείαν add. φύσει εὐγένειαν Par_1

7: Periander, son of Cypselus, of Corinth said:

1. Practice is everything. 2a. Tranquility is a fine thing; 2b. rashness trips one up. 3. Desire of shameful gain is an indictment of one's nature. 4. Democracy is better than despotic rule. 5. Pleasures are mortal, virtues immortal. 6. Be moderate in good fortune, prudent in bad fortune. 7. It is better to die a thrifty man than to live in want. 8. Render yourself worthy of your parents. 9. Be praised while alive, and blessed when dead. 10. Be the same person to friends in prosperity and in adversity. 11. Whomever you freely admit to be evil, pass (him) by. 12. Do not bring secrets out into the open. 13. Give abuse as though you will soon be a friend.

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ταχὺ φίλος ἐσόμενος. 14. τοῖς μὲν νόμοις παλαιοῖς χρῶ, τοῖς δ' ὄψοις προσφάτοις. 15. μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἁμαρτάν- 110 οντας κόλαζε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας κώλυε. 16. δυστυχῶν κρύπτε, ἵνα μὴ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς εὐφράνῃς.

nos. 2a-2b, 3-16=nos. 2-3, 4-17 Par. $_1$ no. 1 Par. $_1$ habet πασιν αρεσκε (Biantis D.L. 1.85) || no. 1 D.L. 1.99 nos. 2-5 D.L. 1.97 nos. 6; 10-11; 12; 15 D.L. 1.98 nos. 7-9, 13-14, 16 desunt in D.L.

πο. 1 μελέτη D.L., $Par._1$ πο. 3 κέρδος αἰσχρόν (post αἰσχρόν lacunam 8–9 litt. habet F) D.L. πο. 4 κρεῖττον] κρεῖττον D.L. Ω : κρεῖττων D.L. Φ, $Par._1$ πο. 5 θνηταί] φθαρταί D.L. ΙΙ ἀρεταὶ] τιμαὶ D.L., $Par._1$ πο. 6 ἀτυχῶν] δυστυχῶν D.L., $Par._1$ πο. 10 εὐτυχοῖσι καὶ om. $Par._1$ πο. 11 ὃ ἂν ὁμολογήσης, διατήρει D.L.: ὃ ἂν ἑκὼν ὁμολογήσης, ποίει· πονηρὸν γὰρ τὸ παραβῆναι $Par._1$ πο. 15 κώλυε] κόλαζε omisso κόλαζε D.L. πο. 16 δυστυχῶν] δυστυχίαν $Par._1$

Religio

cf. quae dicit Diogenes Laertius, Vitae Philosophorum 5.76 = 1.20-1 de paeanibus a Demetrio factis, et dictum Demetrii in Gnomologio Vaticano 743, no 254 = 71

14. The laws you use should be old, the dishes you cook fresh. 15. Do not only punish those who are making mistakes, but also restrain those who are on the point of doing so. 16. Hide your misfortune, lest you gladden your enemies.

Religion

cp. what Diogenes Laertius says in his Lives of the Philosophers 5.76 = 1.20-1 about paeans composed by Demetrius, and the saying of Demetrius in the Gnomologium Vaticanum 743, no. 254 = 71

Politica

cf. dicta Demetrii in 1.52–3; 112–17; 12.7–8; 38.4–6; 73–75; 77–79; 82A.6–21; 83.7–8; 90.14–17; 116A.17–20; 26–7; 116B.8–10; 143.19–22

Inscriptiones librorum

Tabula inscriptionum ad opera politica spectantium

- Περὶ τῆς δεκαετίας α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 =
 1.86
- Υπὲρ τῆς πολιτείας α΄] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 =
 1.85
- 3 'Αθηναίων καταδρομή α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81
 = 1.101
- 4 Περὶ δημαγωγίας α΄ β΄] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.80 =
 1.67
- 5 Στρατηγικῶν α' β'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.80 = 1.71
- 6 'Αρχόντων 'Αναγραφή] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 1.22 = 93.4; 2.7 = 94.7 (ἐν τῆ τῶν 'Αρχόντων ἀναγραφῆ); Marcellinus, Vita Thucydidis 32 = 92.13 (ἐν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν)
- 7 Περὶ τῆς ᾿Αθήνησι νομοθεσίας α΄ β΄ γ΄ δ΄ ε΄] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.80 = 1.65; Tabula Rhodiensis col. I 5–6 = 80.5–6 (Περὶ τῆς ᾿Αθήνησι νομοθεσίας πέ[ντε]); Harpocration, Lexicon in decem oratores Atticos s.v. παράστασις = 98.14 (ἐν τοῖς Περὶ νομοθεσίας); s.v. ὙΕρκειος Ζεύς = 100.7–8 (ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῆς ᾿Αθήνησι νομοθεσίας); s.v. σκαφηφόροι = 101.5–6 (ἐν γ΄ Νομοθεσίας); Photius, Lexicon s.v. παράστασις (2.336.24–25 Porson) = app. 98 (ἐν τοῖς Περὶ νομοθεσίας); s.v. σκαφηφόροι (2.446.21 Porson) = app. 101 (ἐν γ΄ Νομοθεσίας); Suda s.v. παράστασις (no. 443, LG 1.4.42.4 Adler) = app. 98 (ἐν τοῖς Περὶ νομοθεσίας); s.v. σκαφηφόροι (no. 544, LG 1.4.373.24 Adler) = app. 101 (ἐν γ΄ Νομοθεσίας); Lexicon Rhetoricum Cantabrigiense s.v. παράστασις (67.9–20 Houtsma) = app. 98 (ἐν τοῖς

Politics

cp. the sayings of Demetrius in 1.52–3; 112–17; **12**.7–8; **38**.4–6; **73–75**; **77–79**; **82A**.6–21; **83**.7–8; **90**.14–17; **116A**.17–20; 26–7; **116B**.8–10; **143**.19–22

Titles of Books

88 List of Titles Referring to Political Works

- 1 On the Ten Years, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.86
- 2 In Defence of the Constitution, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.85
- 3 A Denunciation of the Athenians, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.101
- 4 On Leadership of the people, 2 books] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.80 = 1.67
- 5 Matters of Strategy, 2 books] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.80 = 1.71
- 6 List of Archons] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 1.22 = 93.4; 2.7 = 94.7 ("in his List of Archons"); Marcellinus, The Life of Thucydides 32 = 92.13 ("in his Archons")
- 7 On Legislation at Athens, 5 books] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.80 = 1.65; Rhodian Book Catalogue col. I 5-6 = 80.5-6("On Legislation at Athens, five books"); Harpocration, Lexicon on the Ten Attic Orators under plaintiff's deposit = 98.14("in his books On Legislation"); under Zeus of the Enclosure = 100.7-8 ("in his books On the Legislation of the Athenians"); under bowl-carriers = 101.5-6 ("in (book) 3 of Legislation"); Photius, Lexicon under plaintiff's deposit (2.336.24-5 Porson) = app. 98 ("in his books On Legislation"); under bowl-carriers (2.446.21 Porson) = app. 101 ("in book 3 of Legislation"); Suda under plaintiff's deposit (no. 443, LG 1.4.42.4 Adler) = app. 98 ("in his books OnLegislation"); under bowl-carriers (no. 544, LG 1.4.373.24 Adler) = app. 101 ("in book 3 of Legislation"); Cambridge Rhetorical Lexicon under plaintiff's deposit (67.9–20 Houtsma) = app. 98 ("in his books On Legislation"); under

- Περὶ νομοθεσίας); s.v. κυρία ἐκκλησία = **99**.1–2 (ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ τῆς 'Αθηναίων νομοθεσίας)
- Έκκλησία ἔνορκος α΄] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 =
 1.105
- Περὶ τῶν 'Αθήνησι πολιτειῶν α' β'] Diogenes Laertius,
 Vitae 5.80 = 1.66; Strabo, Geographica 9.1.20 = 19.12–13
 (sine inscriptione libri); Tabula Rhodiensis col. I 7 = 80.7
 (Περὶ τῶν 'Αθήνησι πολι[τειῶν])
- 10 Περὶ πολιτικῆς α', β'] Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae* 5.80 = **1**.68
- 11 Περὶ νόμων α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.80 = 1.69
- 12 Περὶ νόμων α'] Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae* 5.81 = **1**.96; fort. geminatio inscriptionis no. 11
- 13 Σωκράτης α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.79; 9.15 = 106.5; 9.57 = 107.4–5; 9.37 = 108.1 (ἐν τῆ Σωκράτους ἀπολογία); Plutarchus, Aristides 1.2 = 102.7–8; 27.4 = 104.12 (ἐν τῷ Σωκράτει); Eudociae Violarium 329 (ΒΤ 238.16 Flach) = app. 107 (ἐν τῆ Σωκράτους ἀπολογία)
- 14 'Αριστείδης α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.82
- 15 'Αριστόμαχος α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.83
- 16 Κλέων α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.78; Tabula Rhodiensis col. I 3 = 80.3 (Κλέων ἕ[ν])
- 17 Φαιδώνδας α'] Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae* 5.81 = **1**.76; *Tabula Rhodiensis* col. I 4 = **80**.4 (Φαιδώνδας ἢ περὶ ο[)
- 18 Περὶ γάμου α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.93
- 19 Περὶ εἰρήνης α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.95
- 20 Περὶ καιροῦ α'] Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae* 5.81 = **1**.98

Scripta Politica

- Polybius, *Historiae* 12.13.1; 6–12 (BT 3.193.22–194.2; 194.14–195.15 Büttner-Wobst)
 - 1 ότι Τίμαιός φησι Δημοχάρην ήταιρηκέναι μὲν τοῖς ἄνω μέρεσι τοῦ σώματος, οὐκ εἶναι δ' ἄξιον τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ φυσᾶν, ὑπερβεβηκέναι δὲ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τὰ Βότρυος ὑπομνήματα καὶ τὰ Φιλαινίδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναισ-

- Regular Assembly = 99.1-2 ("in the second book of On the Legislation of the Athenians")
- 8 The Sworn Assembly, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.105
- 9 On Constitutions at Athens, 2 books] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.80 = 1.66; Strabo, Geography 9.1.20 = 19.12–13, where the words do not occur as a title; Rhodian Book Catalogue col. I 7 = 80.7 ("On Constitutions at Athens")
- 10 On (the Art of) Politics, 2 books] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.80 = 1.68
- 11 On Laws, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.80 = 1.69
- 12 On Laws, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.96; perhaps a repetition of title no. 11
- 13 Socrates, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.79; 9.15 = 106.5; 9.57 = 107.4-5; 9.37 = 108.1 ("In the Apology of Socrates"); Plutarch, Aristides 1.2 = 102.7-8; 27.4 = 104.12 ("in his Socrates"); Eudociae Bed of Violets 329 (BT 238.16 Flach) = app. 107 ("In the Apology of Socrates")
- 14 Aristides, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.82
- 15 Aristomachus, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = **1**.83
- 16 Cleon, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.78; Rhodian Book Catalogue col. I 3 = 80.3 ("Cleon, one book")
- 17 Phaedondas, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.76; Rhodian Book Catalogue col. I 4 = 80.4 ("Phaedondas or On ..."]
- 18 On Marriage, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.93
- 19 On Peace, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.95
- 20 On the Right Moment, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.98

Political Writings

- **89** Polybius, *Histories* 12.13.1; 6–12 (*BT* 3.193.22–194.2; 194.14–195.15 Büttner-Wobst)
 - That according to Timaeus, Demochares committed fornication with the upper parts of his body, was not worthy to blow the sacred fire, and in his (erotic) practices went beyond the writings of Botrys and Philaenis and the other pornographers; ...

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132 W

- χυντογράφων · ... διὸ καὶ δοκεῖ μοι Τίμαιος οὐχ οὕτως Δημοχάρους κατηγορεῖν ὡς 'Αθηναίων, εἰ τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα προῆγον καὶ τοιούτῳ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους
 βίους ἐνεχείριζον. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι τούτων οὐδέν. οὐ γὰρ ἀν 'Αρχέδικος ὁ κωμφδιογράφος ἔλεγε ταῦτα μόνος περὶ
- 8 Δημοχάρους, ὡς Τίμαιός φησιν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ μὲν ἂν τῶν 10 'Αντιπάτρου φίλων, καθ' οὖ πεπαρρησίασται πολλὰ καὶ δυνάμενα λυπεῖν οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν 'Αντίπατρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου διαδόχους καὶ φίλους γεγονότας, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἀντιπεπολιτευμένων, ὧν ἦν καὶ Δημήτριος
- 9 ὁ Φαληρεύς. οἱ 'κεῖνος οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν πεποίηται 15 κατηγορίαν ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις, φάσκων αὐτὸν γεγονέναι τοιοῦτον προστάτην τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις σεμνύνεσθαι κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐφ' οἱς ἂν καὶ τελώνης
- 10 σεμνυνθείη βάναυσος. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῷ πολλὰ καὶ λυσιτελῶς πωλεῖσθαι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ δαψιλῆ τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον ὑπάρχειν πᾶσιν, ἐπὶ τούτοις φησὶ μεγαλαυχεῖν αὐτόν
- 11 καὶ διότι κοχλίας αὐτόματος βαδίζων προηγεῖτο τῆς πομπῆς αὐτῷ, σίαλον ἀναπτύων, σὺν δὲ τούτοις ὄνοι διεπέμποντο διὰ τοῦ θεάτρου, διότι δὴ πάντων τῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος καλῶν ἡ πατρὶς παρακεχωρηκυῖα τοῖς ἄλλοις 25 ἐποίει Κασάνδρῳ τὸ προσταττόμενον, ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸν οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθαί φησιν. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτε Δημήτριος οὕτ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς εἰρήκει περὶ Δημοχάρους τοιοῦτον οὐδέν.

1-28 = Exc. Const. De Virt. et Vit. 41 (2.2.129.24-7; 130.10-131.4 Roos) = Timae. 566 F 35b FGrH 1-14 Arched. F 4 PCG K.-A. 1-5 Democh. 75 T 2 FGrH || ἡταιρ.—ἀναισχ.] = Suda δ 472 (LG 1.2.49.7-9 Adler) 1-3 ἡταιρ.—φυσᾶν] = Suda η 617 (LG 1.2.595.5-6 Adler) 3-5 ὑπερβεβ.—ἀναισχ.] = Suda β 411 (LG 1.1.482.20-2 Adler) 10-27 Democh. 75 F 4 FGrH 14-28 228 F 28 FGrH 17-21 ἐπὶ τούτοις—αὐτόν] = Suda β 93 (LG 1.1.452.27-30 Adler) 18-21 σεμνύνεσθαι—αὐτόν] cf. 19.10-13 22-3 κοχλίας—ἀναπτύων] = Suda κ 2203 (LG 1.3.168.24-5 Adler) et σ 352 →

Strategica

- 90 Polybius, *Historiae* 10.24.3–7 (BT 3.88.24–89.14 Büttner-Wobst)
 - 3 τί γὰρ ἀπειρότερον, ἄμα δ' ἐπισφαλέστερον ἄρ-

- For this reason Timaeus in fact seems to me not to accuse Demochares so much as the Athenians, if they advanced such a man and placed their country and their own lives in the hands of such a man. But none of this is true. For, if it were true, the comic author Archedicus would not, as Timaeus will have it, have been the only one to say these things about Demochares: no, many of Antipater's associates would have done so—for he (Demochares) was quite outspoken about Antipater and said many things that could hurt not only Antipater himself, but also his successors and associates—and so would many of his political opponents, one of them being Demetrius of Phalerum. That man (Demochares) did after all make no trifling accusation against him (Demetrius) in his historical work, saying that he (Demetrius) had been such a leader of his fatherland as to be proud of those points in his administration that would make a common tax-collector proud of himself. The allegation is that he (Demetrius) used to boast about 10 the fact that in the city many things could be bought at reasonable prices and that provisions were abundantly available to all. Also that he (Demetrius) was not ashamed of the fact that an automated snail led his procession, spitting out saliva, and that to cap it all donkeys were sent right through the theatre; nor indeed that the city had ceded the championship of all the ideals of Hellas to the others and merely did what Cassander ordered. And yet, neither Demetrius nor anyone else has said anything of the sort² about Demochares.
 - ¹ I.e., during his archonship in 308; see note 1 to **43A**.
 - ² I.e, as the allegation made by Archedicus as quoted by Timaeus.

Matters of Strategy

- **90** Polybius, *Histories* 10.24.3–7 (*BT* 3.88.24–89.14 Büttner-Wobst)
 - For what is more lacking in experience and at the same time

⁽LG 1.4.353.11–12 Adler) 23 πομπῆς] cf. **43A**.22 19 ἐπὶ Suda: ἐπεὶ P 22 αὐτομάτως Suda utroque 23 ἀποπτύων Suda σ 352 23 ὄνοι Toup: ἄνοι c. signo compendii supra νοι P: ἄνθρωποι Valesius; v. CQ 39 (1945) 54–5; 122 24 ante διότι lacunam indicat Jacoby, qui ἄνθρωποι legit || δὴ Valesius: δε (sine acc.) P

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χοντος, (ος) οραται μεν υπο πάντων των υποτεταγμένων, 4 ορα δ' ουδένα; ου γαρ στρατιωτικής έξουσίας, άλλ' ήγεμονικής έμπειρίας, άμα δε και δυνάμεως δείγμα δεί φέρειν τον ιππάρχην έν ταίς έξοπλισίαις, ποτε μεν έν πρώτοις, ποτε δ' έν έσχάτοις, ποτε δε κατά μέσους

5 γινόμενον. ὅπερ ὁ προειρημένος ἀνὴρ ἐποίει, παριππεύων καὶ πάντας ἐφορῶν αὐτός, καὶ προσδιασαφῶν αὐτοῖς ἀποροῦσι καὶ διορθῶν ἐν ἀρχαῖς πᾶν τὸ

διαμαρτανόμενον. ἦν δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα τελέως βραχέα καὶ 10 σπάνια διὰ τὴν προγεγενημένην ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἐπιμέλειαν.

Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἔως λόγου τὸ τοιοῦτον ὑπέδειξε, φήσας ὅτι καθάπερ ἐν οἰκοδομίαις, ἐὰν κατὰ μίαν πλίνθον θῆς καὶ καθ' ἕνα δόμον ἐπιμελείας τύχη τὸ 15 παρατεθέν, οὕτως ἐν στρατοπέδω τὸ κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ κατὰ λόχον ἀκριβωθὲν ὅλην ποιεῖ τὴν δύναμιν ἰσχυράν.

13-17 228 F 27 FGrH 14-17 cf. Xen. Mem. 3.1.7

1 ... τί γὰρ] χώραν·ἀντὶ γὰρ F: corr. Schweighaeuser $2 < \delta \varsigma > add$. Casaubon 8 προσδιασαφῶν Casaubon: προδ- codd. 15 πλίνθον θῆς Casaubon: πλήνθον θεῖς F: πλίνθον θεὶς D 11 παρατεθέν Schweig-haeuser: παραραγέν F: παρατιθέν Par. gr. 1651

91 Polybius, *Historiae* 36.2.1–4 (BT 4.438.9–18 Büttner-Wobst)

πάλαι δὲ τούτου κεκυρωμένου βεβαίως ἐν ταῖς ἑκάστων γνώμαις καιρὸν ἐζήτουν ἐπιτήδειον καὶ πρόφασιν εὐσχήμονα πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός. πολὺ γὰρ δὴ τούτου τοῦ μέρους ἐφρόντιζον 'Ρωμαῖοι, καλῶς φρονοῦντες· ἔνστασις γὰρ πολέμου κατὰ τὸν Δημήτριον 5 δικαία μὲν δοκοῦσα εἶναι καὶ τὰ νικήματα ποιεῖ μείζω καὶ τὰς ἀποτεύξεις ἀσφαλεστέρας, ἀσχήμων δὲ καὶ φαύλη τἀναντία ἀπεργάζεται· διὸ καὶ τότε περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐκτὸς διαλήψεως πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφερόμενοι παρ' ὀλίγον ἀπέστησαν τοῦ πολέμου.

1-10 = Exc. Const. De sent. 148 (4.202.8-15 Boissevain); cf. Plb. frg. 99 et D.S. 32.5 5-8 228 F 29 FGrH

123 W

124 W

⁶ εἶναι δοκοῦσα Büttner-Wobst 8 τοὐναντίον Büttner-Wobst

more dangerous than a commander who is seen by all his subordinates, but does not see anyone himself? For under arms a cavalry commander should give proof of, not the qualifications of an ordinary rank and file soldier, but experience in leadership and at the same time ability as well, being present now amongst the front ranks, then at the rear and then again in the middle ranks. That is exactly what the man mentioned above (Philopoemen) did, riding past on his horse and personally inspecting all, giving additional instructions if they were at a loss what to do and correcting from the very beginning any mistake that was being made. Instances of that kind, however, were quite trivial and rare on account of the care that had previously been taken in organizing each of the units.

Demetrius of Phalerum indicated this principle to the point of expressing it in words² by stating that just as in house-building if you lay on brick by brick and course by course what is laid next receives attention, so in an army detailed arrangements for every man and every file make up the strength of the entire force.

¹ As cavalry commander Philopoemen reformed the Achaean cavalry in 209 B.C. (Plu. *Phil.* 7).

² That is, merely in words, not in practice.

91 Polybius, *Histories* 36.2.1–4 (*BT* 4.438.9–18 Büttner-Wobst)

- Although this had long ago been firmly decided upon in their several minds, they looked for a suitable moment and for a pretext
- which would make a good impression on the outside world. In fact, the Romans used to give considerable attention to this point,
- and they were right to do so. For according to Demetrius a start to war that is accounted just both makes victories greater and failures less dangerous, whereas one that makes a bad impression and
- is paltry produces the opposite result. Therefore at that time too, since they differed amongst themselves about the opinion of the outside world, they almost decided not to start the war.

¹ The decision to declare war on Carthage (Third Punic War). This was done in 150 B.C.

De institutis et magistratibus rei publicae

Magistratuum index ['Αρχόντων ἀναγραφή 92-4]

92 Marcellinus, Vita Thucydidis 32 (SGL 1.8.4–16 Alberti)

152 W

Δίδυμος δ' ἐν 'Αθήναις ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἐλθόντα βιαίφ θανάτφ φησὶν ἀποθανεῖν· τοῦτο δέ φησι Ζώπυρον ἱστορεῖν. τοὺς γὰρ 'Αθηναίους κάθοδον δεδωκέναι τοῖς φυγάσι πλὴν τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν μετὰ τὴν ἦτταν τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ· ἤκοντα οὖν αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν βίᾳ, καὶ τεθῆναι ἐν τοῖς Κιμωνίοις μνήμασιν. καὶ καταγιγνώσκειν εὐήθειαν ἔφη τῶν νομιζόντων αὐτὸν ἐκτὸς μὲν τετελευτηκέναι, ἐπὶ γῆς δὲ τῆς 'Αττικῆς τεθάφθαι· ἢ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἐτέθη ἐν τοῖς πατρώοις μνήμασιν, ἢ κρύβδην τεθεὶς οὐκ ἂν ἔτυχεν οὕτε στήλης οὕτε ἐπιγράμματος, ἣ τῷ τάφῳ προσκειμένη μηνύει τοῦ συγγραφέως τοὕνομα. ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι κάθοδος ἐδόθη τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ὡς καὶ Φιλόχορος λέγει καὶ Δημήτριος ἐν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν.

1–13 228 F 3 FGrH = Philoch. 328 F 137 FGrH = Did. F 27.3 Schmidt p. 323–4 1–3 Zopyros F 6 FHG IV 533

2 φησὶν ἀποθανεῖν Vm: om. cett. 5 αὐτὸν desinit E 8 ἢ Bekker: εἰ Pl: ἦ cett. 9 ἢ κρύβδην Casaubon: συλλήβδην codd.

Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 1.22 (OCT 1.9.3–7 Long)

149 W

150 W

ζἦν δὲ τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν, καθὰ καὶ Πλάτων φησί· καὶ πρῶτος σοφὸς ἀνομάσθη ἄρχοντος 'Αθήνησι Δαμασίου, καθ' ὃν καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ σοφοὶ ἐκλήθησαν, ώς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῆ τῶν 'Αρχόντων ἀναγραφῆ.

1-4 228 F 1 FGrH; Thales 11 A 1 DK I 67.10-14 1 Pl. Prt. 343A1-2

Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 2.7 (OCT 1.59.26–60.7 Long)

λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν

¹ ἦν δὲ τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν suppl. Diels

On Procedures and Offices of the State

List of Archons [List of Archons 92-4]

92 Marcellinus, The Life of Thucydides 32 (SGL 1.8.4–16 Alberti)

Didymus says that he (Thucydides) died a violent death at Athens after his return from exile. He says that Zopyrus is his source for this. That as a matter of fact the Athenians had allowed the exiles, except for the Pisistratidae, to come back after the defeat in Sicily. That he did, therefore, come back and died a violent death, and was buried in the family vault of Cimon. He (Didymus) added that in his opinion those people were silly who thought that he (Thucydides) had died abroad, but had been buried in Attic soil. For in that case he would either not have been buried in the vault of his ancestors or, if he had been placed there secretly, he would not have got a tombstone or an epitaph, which, placed on the tomb as it is, makes known the historian's name. In any case, it is clear that the exiles were allowed to come back, as both Philochorus and Demetrius in his *Archons* say.

Diogenes Laertius, The Lives of the Philosophers 1.22 (OCT 1.9.3-7 Long)

He (Thales) was one of the Seven Wise Men, as Plato says too; and he was the first to be called "Wise," during Damasias' archonship at Athens.¹ At that time the Seven Wise Men too got their name, as Demetrius of Phalerum says in his *List of Archons*.

¹ In 583/2 B.C.

Diogenes Laertius, The Lives of the Philosophers 2.7 (OCT 1.59.26-60.7 Long)

It is stated that he (Anaxagoras) was twenty years old at the

176 Demetrius of Phalerum

εἶναι, βεβιωκέναι δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα δύο. φησὶ δ' 'Απολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸν τῇ ἑβδομηκοστῷ 'Ολυμπιάδι, τεθνηκέναι δὲ τῷ πρώτῷ ἔτει τῆς †ἑβδομηκοστῆς ὀγδόης. ἤρξατο δὲ φιλοσοφεῖν 'Αθήνησιν ἐπὶ Καλλίου, ἐτῶν εἴκοσιν ἄν, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῷ τῶν 'Αρχόντων ἀναγραφῷ, ἔνθα καί φασιν αὐτὸν ἐτῶν διατρῦψαι τριάκοντα.

 $1-8\ 228\ F\ 2\ FGrH = Apollod.\ 244\ F\ 31\ FGrH = Anaxag.\ A\ 1\ DK\ II 5.19-25;\ cf.\ 84-5$

De magistratibus [i.e. de demarchis]

Scholium in Aristophanis *Nubes* 37 (SA 1.3.1.256.11–20 Koster)

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'Αριστοτέλης δὲ περὶ Κλεισθένους φησί· "κατέστησε καὶ δημάρχους τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντας ἐπιμέλειαν τοῖς πρότερον ναυκλάροις· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς δήμους ἀντὶ τῶν ναυκλαριῶν ἐποίησεν." οἱ πρότερον ναύκλαροι, εἴτε ὑπὸ Σόλωνος κατασταθέντες εἴτε καὶ πρότερον. οὖτοι δὲ τὴν 5 πομπὴν τῶν Παναθηναίων ἐκόσμουν Κλεισθένους καταστήσαντος ἀντὶ ναυκλάρων. ἔστι δὲ δήμαρχος ὁ τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχὴν ἄρχων· καὶ 'Ασκληπιάδης ὁ 'Αλεξανδρεὺς τοὺς κατὰ δῆμον ἄρχοντάς φησι. Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Φαληρεὺς οὕτω φησί· "καὶ δημάρχους οἱ 10 περὶ Σόλωνα καθίσταντο ἐν πολλῆ σπουδῆ, ἵνα οἱ κατὰ δῆμον ἄρχοντες διδῶσι καὶ λαμβάνωσι τὰ δίκαια παρ' ἀλλήλων." ἔδει οὖν τὸν δήμαρχον ἀγαγεῖν εἰς τοὺς

⁵ έβδομηκοστης] ὀγδοηκοστης Scaliger 6 Καλλίου] sive Καλλιάδου Meursius

time of Xerxes' crossing (of the Hellespont)¹ and that he lived to the age of seventy-two. Apollodorus in his *Chronicles* says that he was born in the seventieth Olympiad² and died in the first year of the †seventy-eighth†.³ He took up philosophy at Athens at the time of Callias,⁴ when twenty years old, as Demetrius of Phalerum says in his *List of Archons*, and they also say that he stayed there for thirty years.

On Offices [i.e. on demarchoi]

95 Scholium on Aristophanes' Clouds 37 (SA 1.3.1.256.11-20 Koster)

Aristotle says about Cleisthenes: "He also appointed demarchoi (head officers of the deme) with the same responsibilities as the former nauklaroi.\(^1\) For he also established the demes to replace the (administrative units of) nauclaries." The former nauklaroi are those who were instituted either by Solon or even earlier. These (demarchoi) used to organize the procession of the Panathenaea, Cleisthenes having appointed them in place of (the) nauklaroi. A demarchos is the official holding the eponymous office; and Asclepiades of Alexandria speaks (of them as) 'those holding office at the level of the deme'. Demetrius of Phalerum speaks (of them) as follows: "Solon and his associates were also very keen to appoint demarchoi so that those holding office at the level of the deme would act equitably in their relations with one another." What is relevant here\(^2\) is that it was the duty of the demarchos to take to the homes (of the debtors) those who were

¹ In 480/79 B.C.

² I.e., 500-496 B.C.

³This date, 468/7 B.C., cannot be right. Scaliger's conjecture would bring the date down to Ol. 88,1 = 428/7 B.C. But see Jacoby *FGrH* II b 728 on 244 F 31.

⁴ Callias was archon in 456/5. He may have been confused with Calliades, who was archon in 480/79 B.C. On the whole entry see Jacoby *FGrH* II b 646 on 228 F 2.

οἴκους τοὺς ἐνεχυριαζομένους.

1–14 scholium editionis Aldinae proprium post scholium vetus 37c || 228 F 31 FGrH = Asclepiades 339 F 2 FGrH 1–7 cf. Phot. 1.247.22–248.9 Porson 1–4 Arist. Ath. 21.5; cf. Harp. v 4 4–14 = Solon T 340 Martina (cf. Solon F 79–80 Ruschenbusch) 13–14 cf. Harp. δ 27; praeterea cf. Pollux 8.108–11; Hsch. δ 824; Phot. δ 244 = Suda δ 420 = Lex. Sabb. 48.4–8; Suda δ 421; AB 1.242.16–18

3 ναυκλάροις sic constanter Ald.: ναυκράροις Arist., Harp. || ἀντὶ τῶν 🔑

De institutis rei publicae [Περὶ τῆς 'Αθήνησι νομοθεσίας 98-9]

96A Pollux, *Onomasticon* 8.51–3 (LG 9.2.120.22–121.10 Bethe)

51 ἡ δ' εἰσαγγελία τέτακται ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγράφων δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων. κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν εἰσαγγελτικόν * * * (ἀμφοτέρως γὰρ λέγουσιν), ὃς κεῖται * * * περὶ ὧν οὐκ εἰσὶ νόμοι, ἀδικῶν δέ τις ἀλίσκεται ἢ ἄρχων ἢ ῥήτωρ, εἰς τὴν βουλὴν εἰσαγγελία δίδοται κατ' αὐτοῦ, κὰν μὲν μέτρια ἀδικεῖν δοκῆ, ἡ βουλὴ ποιεῖται ζημίας ἐπιβολήν, 52 ὰν δὲ μείζω, παραδίδωσι δικαστηρίῳ· τὸ δὲ τίμημα, ὅ τι χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτῖσαι.

ἐγίνοντο δὲ εἰσαγγελίαι καὶ κατὰ τῶν καταλυόντων τὸν δῆμον ἡπτόρων, ἢ μὴ τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ λεγόντων, 10 ἢ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἄνευ τοῦ πεμφθῆναι ἀπελθόντων, ἢ προδόντων φρούριον ἢ στρατιὰν ἢ ναῦς, ὡς Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ Νόμων.

ότι δὲ ὁ εἰσαγγείλας καὶ οὐχ ἑλὼν ἀζήμιος ἦν, Υπερείδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Λυκόφρονος φησίν. καίτοι γε ὁ 15 Θεόφραστος τοὺς μὲν ἄλλας γραφὰς γραψαμένους χιλίας τ' ὀφλισκάνειν, εἰ τὸ πέμπτον τῶν ψήφων μὴ καταλάβοιεν, καὶ προσατιμοῦσθαι, τοὺς δὲ εἰσαγγέλλοντας μὴ ἀτιμοῦσθαι μέν, ὀφλεῖν δὲ τὰς χιλίας · ἔοικε δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τοὺς ῥαδίως εἰσαγγέλλοντας ὕστερον 20 προσγεγράφθαι.

Δημοσθένης δὲ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μέδοντος καὶ κατὰ τῶν μὴ προσηκόντως τῆ ἐπικλήρῳ συνοικούντων γίνεσθαι τὰς εἰσαγγελίας λέγει.

χίλιοι δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὸν Σόλωνα τὰς εἰσαγγελίας 25

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seizing a security for a debt.

53

- ¹ The text of the scholium has forms of *nauklaros*, the correct form being *naukraros*.
- ² In the *Clouds* Strepsiades is complaining about the *demarchos* who "is biting him in the bedding": he is afraid his creditors will come and seize a security for his debts (35).

Arist.: αὐτῶν Ald. 5 ναυκλαριῶν: Ald.: ναυκραριῶν Arist., Harp. | πρότερον Hermann: πρῶτον . . Ald. 12 ἄρχοντες seclus. Hermann 14 ἐνεχυριαζομένους edd.: ἐνεχειριαζομένους Ald.

On Procedures of the State [On Legislation at Athens 98–9]

96A Pollux, *Nomenclature* 8.51–3 (*LG* 9.2.120.22–121.10 Bethe)

Impeachment (eisangelia) is prescribed against uncodified crimes against the state. According to the impeachment law***
—for they speak in both ways—which is laid down *** concerning which there are no laws, but (if) someone is caught committing a crime, either a magistrate or an orator, an impeachment against him is presented to the council, and if he seems to be committing a moderate crime, the council imposes the fine, but if a greater (injustice), they turn the case over to a law court; (it imposes) the penalty which he must suffer or pay.

Impeachments were brought against those orators who were (accused of) overthrowing the democracy, or not saying what was best for the democracy, or going on a mission to the enemy without having been sent, or betraying a fort or army or ships, as Theophrastus (says) in the first book of *On Laws*.

Hyperides in his speech For Lycophron says that an accuser who was unsuccessful in an impeachment was not fined. Theophrastus, however, says that those who lodge other indictments are fined one thousand (drachmas) if they do not win one fifth of the votes, and in addition are disenfranchised, while those who lay an impeachment are not disenfranchised but are fined the(se) one thousand (drachmas). It is likely that this was a later addition owing to the ease with which people brought impeachments.

Demosthenes in the speech Against Medon says that impeachments were brought also against those who do not live with an heiress in the appropriate way.¹

One thousand judged the impeachments according to Solon;

ἔκρινον, κατὰ δὲ τὸν Φαληρέα καὶ πρὸς πεντακόσιοι.

1–26 Thphr. no. 636A FHS&G 1–21 cf. Harp. ε 7 = Suda ε 1 222 = Lex. Sabb. 54.17–55.2 1–4 cf. Suda ε 1 220 = AB 1.244.14–17 = An. Bachm. 1.210.4–8; et v. ad **96B**.18–19 9–12 cf. legem ap. Hyper. 3.7–8 10 μη—λεγόντων] Hyper. 3.4 13 περὶ Νόμων] Thphr. no. 589.17c FHS&G 14–21 cf. Harp. ε 7 = Suda ε 1 222 = Lex. Sabb. 54.21–4 15 Hyper. 3.12 22 Dem. F 7 Baiter & Sauppe 25–6 228 F 12b FGrH 25 Σόλωνα] Arist. Ath. 8.4 de **96A–B** v. M. Stein, ZPE 120 (1998) 19–22

1–26 desunt in AB 2 et 3 lacunam statuit Bethe 3 \ddot{o} ς κείται] \ddot{o} ί \dot{o} ς \rightarrow

96B Lexicon Rhetoricum Cantabrigiense s.v. εἰσαγγελία (14.4–19 Houtsma)

εἰσαγγελία, κατὰ καινῶν καὶ ἀγράφων ἀδικημάτων. αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ Καικιλίου δόξα. Θεόφραστος δὲ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῷ περὶ νόμων φησὶ γενέσθαι, ἐάν τις καταλύῃ τὸν δῆμον ῥήτωρ ἢ μὴ τὰ ἄριστα συμβουλεύῃ χρήματα λαμβάνων, ἢ ἐάν τις προδιδῷ χωρίον ἢ ναῦς ἢ πεζὴν στρατιάν, ἢ ἐάν τις εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφικνῆται ἢ †νικοίη παρ' αὐτοῖς ἢ στρατεύηται μετ' αὐτῶν ἢ δῶρα λαμβάνῃ.

συνομολογεῖ δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ Θεοφράστου ἡ κατὰ Θεμιστοκλέους εἰσαγγελία, ἣν εἰσήγγειλε κατὰ Κρατερὸν Λεωβώτης ᾿Αλκμαίωνος ᾿Αγρυλῆθεν. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν ῥητό- 10 ρων εἰώθεσαν καλεῖν καὶ τὰ μὴ μεγάλα ἀδικήματα εἰσαγγελίαν.

ἔστι δ' ὅτε ἐμβάλλοντες τοὺς συκοφαντουμένους εἰσήγγελλον, ὡς μὲν Φιλόχορος, χιλίων καθεζομένων, ὡς δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς, χιλίων πεντακοσίων. Και-15 κίλιος δὲ οὕτως ὡρίσατο· εἰσαγγελία ἐστὶν ὃ περὶ και-νῶν ἀδικημάτων δεδώκασιν ἀπενεγκεῖν οἱ νόμοι. ἔστι δὲ τὸ μελετώμενον ἐν ταῖς τῶν σοφιστῶν διατριβαῖς.

 $1-18 = Caec.\ Cal.\ F\ 155\ Ofenloch\ p.\ 158 = Thphr.\ no.\ 636B\ FHS\&G\ 1-15\ Philoch.\ 328\ F\ 199\ FGrH\ 1-12\ Crater.\ 342\ F\ 11a\ FGrH\ 2-15\ 228\ F\ 12a\ FGrH\ 8-10\ cf.\ Plu.\ Them.\ 23.1\ 17-18\ cf.\ schol.\ Pl.\ R.\ 565C = Suda\ \epsilon\iota\ 221 = AB\ 1.244.18-23 = An.\ Bachm.\ 1.210.8-13 = Lex.\ Sabb.\ 54.12-16$

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an additional five hundred according to (Demetrius) of Phalerum.²

add. F) λέγει FS 13 πρώτφ deest in FS 14 ἀζήμιος ἦν] ἄτιμος οὐκ ἦν L 23 προσηκόντως Meier: προσηκόντων FSL 24 λέγει] ἔκρινεν L

96B Cambridge Rhetorical Lexicon under impeachment (14.4–19 Houtsma)

Impeachment (eisangelia), against new and uncodified crimes. This at any rate is the opinion of Caecilius. But Theophrastus in the fourth book of On Laws says that it occurs if an orator subverts the democracy or accepts money for not offering the best counsel, or if someone betrays a position or ships or a land army, or if someone goes over to the enemy or †is victor† on their side,¹ or serves with them, or accepts gifts.

The impeachment against Themistocles, which, according to Craterus, Leobotes the son of Alcmaeon from Agryle brought, agrees with the (statements) of Theophrastus. But some of the orators were accustomed to call even crimes that were not great (grounds for) impeachment.

It also occurred when those attacking sycophants brought an impeachment, when, as Philochorus (says), there were one thousand (jurors) seated, but Demetrius of Phalerum (says) there were fifteen hundred. Caecilius, however, defines it this way, "An impeachment is what the laws allow to be brought in the case of new crimes." It is the subject of exercises in the diatribes of the sophists.

¹ I.e., by having sexual intercourse with her three times a month.

² The Greek is ambivalent: if it is compared to **52**.2, a temporal interpretation of *kata* in the sense of "in the time of" imposes itself; but generally it is compared to **96B**.15–16 and interpreted in the sense of "according to"; cp. Jacoby *FGrH* II b 649 on 228 F 12 and III b Suppl. I 565 on Philoch. 328 F 199.

¹ The text appears to be corrupt; with Dobree's conjecture the text would read: "lives in their midst"; with Lugebil's: "takes up residence in their midst."

πολέμους ἀφικνεῖται cod. νικοίη cod.: οἰκοίη Dobree: μετοικῆ Lugebil 9 ή-Κρατερὸν Cobet, Var. Lect. 1854, 369: εἴτε Θεμιστοκλέα εἰσαγγέ (super γ alterum λ scripto) ἢ εἰσήγγειλε Κρατερὸς cod. 13 συκοφαντουμένους] συκοφαντοῦντας Wehrli 14 Φιλόχορος Dobree: Φιλόχανος cod. 15–16 Καικίλιος Dobree: Κακεῖ δὲ cod. 18 σοφιστῶν Dobree: σοφῶν cod.

97 Lexicon Rhetoricum Cantabrigiense s.v. μη οὖσα δίκη (21.4–19 Houtsma)

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μὴ οὖσα δίκη · Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐνίους λέγει τῶν κρινομένων κακοτεχνεῖν τοῖς διώκουσιν ἀντιλαγχάνοντας τὴν μὴ οὖσαν · δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς ὑπὲρ δέκα δραχμῶν ἀμφιβητοῦντας †διαιτητεῖς δέκα ἔτη † λαμβάνειν · διὸ καὶ ἔκειτο νόμος μὴ εἰσάγεσθαι δίκην, εἰ μὴ σρότερον ἐξετασθείη παρ ' αὐτοῖς τὸ πρᾶγμα · ἐνίους δὲ ἀσθενὲς τὸ δίκαιον ἔχοντας καὶ δεδοικότας τὴν καταδίαιταν χρόνους ἐμβάλλειν καὶ σκήψεις οἵας δοκεῖν εἶναι εὐλόγους, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παραγράφεσθαι, εἶτα ὑπόμνυσθαι νόσον ἢ ἀποδημίαν, καὶ τελευτῶντας ἐπὶ τὴν κυρίαν τῆς διαίτης ἡμέραν οὐκ ἀπαντῶντας, ὅπως δύνωνται ἀντιλαγχάνειν τὴν μὴ οὖσαν τῷ ἑλόντι, ὥστε ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀκέραιον αὐτοῖς καθίστασθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα.

κατ' ἐνίους δὲ ἡ ἀντίληξίς ἐστιν ὅτῷ ἀντιλαχεῖν 15 ἐξῆν· καὶ μετέγραψαν ἢ ὅλως ἐκ τῶν λόγων αὐτὴν ἀνεῖλον· τούτου δὲ αἴτιον ἡ τοῦ ἔθους ἔκλειψις, ἀνήρηται γὰρ μετὰ τῶν διαιτητῶν ἡ ἀντίληξις. ἐξῆν δ' ἀντιλαγχάνειν ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν δέκα.

1–15 228 F 13 FGrH; cf. Phot. 1.229.24–230.2 Porson; AB 1.278.29–33 3–4 ὑπὲρ δέκα δραχμῶν] cf. Poll. 8.100 4 διαιτητὰς] cf. Harp. δ52 = Suda δ888 = Lex. Vind. no. 8; Hsch. δ 1032; Suda δ887; AB 1.235.20–5; Lex. Sabb. 48.25–49.3 19 ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν δέκα] cf. Poll. 8.61

98 Harpocration, Lexicon in decem oratores Atticos s.v. παράστασις (no. 31, 206.23–207.7 Keaney)

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παράστασις· Ἰσαῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ Πύρρου κλήρου. τοὕνομα παρὰ πολλοῖς ἐστὶν ᾿Αττικοῖς. ἔστι δὲ δραχμὴ καταβαλλομένη ὑπὸ τῶν δικαζομένων τὰς ἰδίας δίκας. Μένανδρος Μισογύνη·

^{2–3} ἀντιλαγχάνοντας Dobree: ἀντιλαγχάνουσι cod. 4–5 διαιτητεῖς—λαμβάνειν cod.: διαιτητὰς εἰς δίκην ἑκάστην λαμβάνειν Müller FHG II 364: διαιτητὰς δικαστὰς λαμβάνειν Wehrli 8 σκήψεις Dobree: σκέψεις cod. 10 εἶτα Dobree: τὸ cod. 11 τῆς Dobree: αὐτῆς cod. 9 ὅπως δύνωνται Houtsma: ὅπη →

97 Cambridge Rhetorical Lexicon under there not being a law suit (21.4–19 Houtsma)

There not being a law suit (mê ousa dikê): Demetrius of Phalerum says that some defendants in cases of arbitration use fraudulent means against the plaintiffs by moving to get the judgment by default declared null and void and thus obtain a rehearing of the case. For those involved in litigations of more than ten drachmas are obliged to get arbitrators †ten years†.¹ For that very reason a law was passed that a case is not to be admitted into court unless it was previously examined in their (the arbitrators') court. Some people who have a weak case to defend and are afraid the arbitration will go against them, cause delays and make such excuses as seem to be reasonable; first they take exception to the admissibility of the case, next they swear affidavits about (their) illness or absence abroad, and finally on the day appointed for the arbitration they do not appear in court. In this way they can get the judgment by default declared null and void for the party who had got the conviction and thus obtain a rehearing of the case, so as to be back at their starting point with the litigation undecided.

According to some people the term antilêxis ("moving for a rehearing") applies to anyone for whom it was possible to obtain a rehearing of the case; and they (the orators) altered (the term) or removed it entirely from their speeches. The reason for this is the disappearance of the practice; for—together with the arbitrators—moving for a rehearing of the case has been abandoned. It was possible to move for a rehearing of the case within ten days.

¹ The text is corrupt. Müller's emendation would give "for each separate case"; Wehrli's "as judges."

δύνοντας cod. 13 έξ ὑπαρχῆς Dobree: έξ' ὑπ' ἀρχῶν cod. 15 ἡ ἀντίληξίς έστιν ὅτω Houtsma: ἡ ἀντίληξις · οὕτως cod.

Harpocration, Lexicon on the Ten Attic Orators under plaintiff's deposit (no. 31, 206.23–207.7 Keaney)

Plaintiff's deposit (parastasis): Isaeus in his speech On the Estate of Pyrrhus. The word occurs in many Attic (orators). It is a drachma paid by the plaintiffs in private law suits. Menander in The Woman-Hater:

έλκει δὲ γραμματείδιον ἐκεῖσε δίθυρον καὶ παράστασις, μία δραχμή.

'Αριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν 'Αθηναίων πολιτείᾳ περὶ τῶν θεσμοθετῶν λέγων φησὶν οὕτως· "εἰσὶ δὲ γραφαὶ πρὸς αὐτούς, ὧν παράστασις τίθεται, ξενίας καὶ δωροξενίας, 10 ἄν τις δῶρα δοὺς ἀποφύγῃ τὴν ξενίαν, καὶ ψευδεγγραφῆς καὶ ψευδοκλητίας καὶ βουλεύσεως καὶ ἀγραφίου καὶ μοιχείας."

5

Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ νομοθεσίας τοὺς διαιτητάς φησι λαμβάνειν τὰς δραχμὰς μίαν μὲν 15 ἀπὸ τῆς λήξεως, ἣν παράστασιν ἐκάλουν, ἑτέραν δὲ καθ' ὑπωμοσίαν ἑκάστην.

1–17 = Phot. s.v. παράστασις (2.336.15–27 Porson) = Suda s.v. παράστασις (no. 443, LG 1.4.41.29–42.6 Adler) = Lex. Rhet. Cant. (67.9–20 Houtsma) = 228 F 7 FGrH 1 Isaeus 3.47 2–3 cf. AB 1.290.19–22 4–7 Men. F 278 Koerte 8–13 Arist. Ath. 59.3 15 διαιτητάς] cf. ad 97.4

[DE = epitome] 11 Arist. καὶ συκοφαντίας καὶ δώρων post ξενίαν habet 12 ἀγραφίου Harp. plenus et D, Arist.: ...φίου E, Phot.: γραφίου Suda 15 λαμβάνειν Phot., Sudae F: λα(β)εῖν Sudae M^{pc} : λαχεῖν Sudae G 17 ὑπωμοσίου Phot., Suda

Lexicon Rhetoricum Cantabrigiense s.v. κυρία ἐκκλησία (19.19–20.9 Houtsma)

140 W

99

κυρία [ἡ] ἐκκλησία. Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ τῆς ᾿Αθηναίων νομοθεσίας πλεῖστα ἐχρημάτιζεν ἢ μέγιστα τῶν κοινῶν · †ἀλλ' ἐνῆν τὸν δεδεμένον † φησίν · εἰκότως δ' ἄν τις αὐτῷ ἐπιτιμήσειεν · εἰ γὰρ ἄν ποτε κυρίας ἐκκλησίας τοὺς ΄ ᾿Αθηναίους νομίσαι ἐν ἐμίσθουν ἄμεινον οὖν ᾿Αριστοτέλης · τὰς γὰρ ἀρχὰς ἐν ταῖς κυρίαις ἐκκλησίαις ἔφησε χειροτονεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰς εἰσαγγελίας, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν ἀναγκαίων χρηματίζειν, καὶ περὶ σίτου, φυλακῆς τῆς χώρας, καὶ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς τῶν δημευομένων ἀναγιγνώσκειν, καὶ τὰς λήξεις τῶν κλήρων · ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἕκτης πρυτανείας πρὸς τοῖς εἰρη-

"In that direction (into court) a small tablet with two leaves (a diptych) drags (you) and a plaintiff's deposit (of) one drachma."

In *The Athenian Constitution*, Aristotle in speaking about the (board of) legislators says: "Under their jurisdiction fall indictments on which a plaintiff's deposit is paid: for being a foreigner; for bribery by a foreigner, (i.e.) when someone is acquitted through bribery on a charge of being a foreigner; for falsely registering someone as a debtor; for falsely appearing as witness to a judicial summons; for failure to delete a discharged debtor; for failure to register a debtor; for adultery."

According to Demetrius of Phalerum in his (books) On Legislation, the arbitrators received the drachmas, one from the (deposit paid by the plaintiff while filing a) claim, which they called parastasis; the other with each application for delaying proceedings.

99 Cambridge Rhetorical Lexicon under regular assembly (19.19–20.9 Houtsma)

Regular Assembly (kyria ekklesia). Demetrius of Phalerum in the second (book of) On the Legislation of the Athenians ... (the regular assembly) transacted most or the most important of public business. †On the other hand/it was possible/the person put in prison† he says. One might reasonably criticize him. For if he would think the Athenians (would) ever (have had) regular assemblies in (which) ... they farmed out ...¹ Now, Aristotle (is) better: for he has said that in the regular assemblies a vote was taken by show of hands on (the conduct of those holding) the public offices, and that it (the regular assembly) transacted the impeachments, and the remainder of the necessary business, and about the corn supply, the defense of the country, and that it had the lists of confiscated properties read aloud (to it), and the claims to inheritances.² In the sixth prytany in addition to the agenda al-

μένοις καὶ περὶ τῆς ὀστρακοφορίας ἐπιχειροτονίαν δίδοσθαι, εἰ δοκεῖ ἢ μή.

1–14 228 F 4 FGrH 7–14 Arist. Ath. 43.4–5; cf. Harp. κ 100; praeterea cf. Poll. 8.95; Hsch. κ 4671; Phot. 1.165.1–4 Porson; Suda κ 2760; AB 1.274. 19–20

1 ἡ del. Meier 2 post νομοθεσίας XV fere literarum spatium, 6 post ἐν et 6 post ἐμίσθουν X fere literarum spatium in codice esse testatur Dobree; cf. quae supplevit Müller FHG II 116 4 τὸν δεδεμένον] τῶν δεδημευμένων Dobree 5 εἰ γὰρ] τί γὰρ Meier: τίς γὰρ Müller 7 →

De civitate [Περὶ τῆς 'Αθήνησι νομοθεσίας 100]

100 Harpocration, Lexicon in decem oratores Atticos s.v. Έρκειος Ζεύς (no. 134, 112.3–8 Keaney)

139 W

Έρκειος Ζεύς · Δείναρχος ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Μοσχίωνος · "εἰ φράτορες αὐτῷ καὶ βωμοὶ Διὸς ἑρκείου καὶ 'Απόλλωνος πατρῷου εἰσίν." ἔρκειος Ζεύς, ῷ βωμὸς ἐντὸς ἔρκους ἐν τῷ αὐλῷ ἴδρυται · τὸν γὰρ περίβολον ἕρκος ἔλεγον. ὅτι δὲ τούτοις μετῆν τῆς πολιτείας οἷς εἴη Ζεὺς ἕρκειος, δεδήλωκε καὶ Ύπερείδης ἐν τῷ Ύπὲρ δημοποιήτου, εἰ γνήσιος, καὶ Δημήτριος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῆς 'Αθήνησι νομοθεσίας.

1–8 228 F 6 FGrH = Din. F 32.2 Conomis 3–5 ἕρκειος—ἕρκειος = Phot. 1.14.18–20 Porson = Suda ε 3015 3–4 ἕρκειος—ἕλεγον] = EM 375.23–4 6 Hyper. F 94 Jensen

De alienis [Περὶ τῆς 'Αθήνησι νομοθεσίας 101]

101 Harpocration, Lexicon in decem oratores Atticos s.v. σκαφηφόροι (no. 21, 236.15–21 Keaney)

146 W

σκαφηφόροι· Δείναρχος ἐν τῷ Κατὰ ᾿Αγησικλέους φησίν· "οἱ ἀντὶ σκαφηφόρων ἔφηβοι εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀναβήσονται, οὐχ ὑμῖν ἔχοντες χάριν τῆς πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ τῷ τούτου ἀργυρίῳ," ἀντὶ τοῦ μέτοικοι· οὖτοι γὰρ ἐσκαφηφόρουν ᾿Αθήνησι. Δημήτριος γοῦν ἐν γ΄ Νομοθεσίας φησὶν ὅτι προσέταττεν ὁ νόμος τοῖς μετοίκοις ἐν

ready mentioned, a vote of confirmation was also taken concerning the ostracism on whether or not to proceed (with it).

'Aριστοτέλης Nauck: 'Αριστοτέλει cod. 9 τὰ ἄλλα Meier: τὰς ἄλλας cod. 11 λήξεις Dobree ex Arist. et Poll.: δείξεις cod. 13 ἐπιχειροτονίαν cod., Arist.: προχειροτονίαν Meier e glossa ὀστρακισμοῦ τρόπος Lex. Rhet. Cant.

On Citizenship [On Legislation at Athens 100]

100 Harpocration, Lexicon on the Ten Attic Orators under Zeus of the Enclosure (no. 134, 112.3–8 Keaney)

Zeus of the Enclosure (Herkeios Zeus): Dinarchus in his speech Against Moschion: "If he has clansmen and altars of Zeus of the Enclosure and of Apollo of the (Fore) Fathers." Zeus of the Enclosure (is the one), for whom an altar is set up within an enclosure in the court—for they called an enclosure a herkos. Citizenrights were enjoyed by those who possessed (an altar of) Zeus of the Enclosure, as is made plain both by Hyperides in his speech In Defence of the Naturalized, if (it is) genuine, and by Demetrius in his (books) On the Legislation of the Athenians.

[DE = epitome] 3 βωμός Qgx: βωμοί cett. et DE, Phot., Suda 4 αὐλῆ DE, Phot., Suda: βουλῆ Harp. plenus || ἵδρυται ABG: ἵδρυνται cett. et DE, Phot., Suda

On Foreigners [On Legislation at Athens 101]

101 Harpocration, Lexicon on the Ten Attic Orators under bowl-carriers (no. 21, 236.15–21 Keaney)

bowl-carriers (skaphephoroi): Dinarchus in the speech Against Agasicles says: "the ephebes acting as bowl-carriers will go up to the Acropolis, not in gratefulness to you for their civil rights, but to this man's (silver) money," (using "bowl-carriers") instead of "resident aliens." For these people used to act as bowl-carriers at Athens. Demetrius at least says in Book 3 of Legislation, that the

¹ The text is desperately corrupt.

² The text as it stands is a confused excerpt of Aristotle; see there and Harpocration s.v.

95 W

ταῖς πομπαῖς αὐτοὺς μὲν σκάφας φέρειν, τὰς δὲ θυγατέρας αὐτῶν ὑδρεῖα καὶ σκιάδεια. διείλεκται περὶ τούτων καὶ Θεόφραστος ἐν ι΄ Νόμων.

1-9 = Phot. s.v. σκαφηφόροι $(2.446.17-24 \ Porson) = Suda s.v.$ σκαφηφόροι $(no. 544, LG \ 1.4.373.21-6 \ Adler) = 228 \ F \ 5 \ FGrH = Din. F XVI \ 5 \ Conomis = Thphr. no. 653 FHS&G; cf. AB 1.304.27-9$

2 οἱ Phot., Suda: οἳ Harp. (Dind.), Din. 4 τούτου et ἀντὶ τοῦ μέτοικοι om. Harp. plenus, Phot., Suda

De singulis philosophis et principibus rei publicae

Socrates vel Socratis defensio [Σωκράτης ἢ Σωκράτους ἀπολογία 102, 104, 106-8]

102 Plutarchus, Aristides 1.1-4; 6; 7; 8-9 (BT 1.1.249.1-20; 250.9-11; 250.19-20; 250.23-251.3 Ziegler)

'Αριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου φυλης μὲν ἦν 'Αντιοχίδος, τῶν δὲ δήμων 'Αλωπεκῆθεν. περὶ δ' οὐσίας αὐτοῦ λόγοι διάφοροι γεγόνασιν, ὁ μὲν ὡς ἐν πενία συντόνω καταβιώσαντος καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀπολιπόντος θυγατέρας δύο πολὺν χρόνον ἀνεκδότους δι' ἀπορίαν γενομένας πρός δὲ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὑπὸ πολλῶν εἰρημένον ἀντιτασσόμενος ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἐν τῷ Σωκράτει χωρίον τε Φαληροί φησι γινώσκειν 'Αριστείδου γενόμενον ἐν ὧ τέθαπται, καὶ τεκμήρια τῆς περὶ τὸν οἶκον εὐπορίας εν μεν ἡγεῖται τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχήν, ἣν 10 ήρξε τῷ κυάμῳ λαχὼν ἐκ τῶν γενῶν τῶν τὰ μέγιστα τιμήματα κεκτημένων, ούς πεντακοσιομεδίμνους προσηγόρευον, έτερον δὲ τὸν ἐξοστρακισμόν · οὐδενὶ γὰρ τῶν πενήτων, άλλὰ τοῖς ἐξ οἴκων τε μεγάλων καὶ διὰ γένους ὄγκον ἐπιφθόνοις ὄστρακον ἐπιφέρεσθαι· τρίτον δὲ καὶ 15 τελευταΐον, ὅτι νίκης ἀναθήματα χορηγικοὺς τρίποδας

τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν διασώζοντες "'Αντιοχὶς ἐνίκα, 4 'Αριστείδης ἐχορήγει, 'Αρχέστρατος ἐδίδασκε." τουτὶ μὲν οὖν καίπερ εἶναι δοκοῦν μέγιστον, ἀσθενέστατόν 20

έν Διονύσου καταλέλοιπεν, οἱ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐδείκνυντο,

6 έστι ... Παναίτιος μέντοι περὶ τοῦ τρίποδος ἀποφαίνει τὸν Δημήτριον ὁμωνυμία διεψευσμένον· ... τὰ μὲν οὖν

law directed the resident aliens to carry bowls themselves in the processions, and their daughters water jars and parasols." Theophrastus too has a discussion of them in Book 10 of Laws.

On individual Philosophers and Leaders of the State

Socrates or Apology of Socrates [Socrates or Apology of Socrates 102, 104, 106-8]

102 Plutarch, *Aristides* 1.1–4; 6; 7; 8–9 (*BT* 1.1.249.1–20; 250.9–11; 250.19–20; 250.23–251.3 Ziegler)

- Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, belonged to the tribe of Antiochis and to the deme Alopece. Of his property there are diverse accounts. One is that he lived under the constraint of poverty all his life and at his death left two daughters who for a long 2 time remained unmarried owing to their lack of means. This story, which is told by many, is countered by Demetrius of Phalerum in his Socrates. He says that he knows the land in Phalerum which belonged to Aristides, and where he is buried. He takes as proofs of the affluence of (Aristides') house (the following). First, there is the office of eponymous archon, which is obtained by lot among the families with the highest property tax assessments, those called 'five-hundred-corn-measurers.' Second, there is the ostracism. For it is not the poor who are subjected to ostracism but those from great houses, who incur envy owing to the prestige of their family. Third and last, he has left in the temple of Dionysus tripods, dedicated in recognition of a prize-winning chorus production. These, which were still shown in our own time, preserve the following inscription: "the (tribe) of Antiochis won; Aristides was the sponsor; Archestratus was the producer."
- 4 Now, although this last argument appears to be very strong, it is in
- 6 fact quite weak. ... As for the tripod, Panaetius, on the other hand, argues that Demetrius was misled by homonymy. ... The

- 7 τοῦ Παναιτίου βέλτιον ἐπισκεπτέον ὅπως ἔχει. τῷ δ' 8 ὀστράκῷ ... καὶ μὴν ἄρξαι γε τὸν ᾿Αριστείδην ὁ
- 8 όστράκφ ... και μήν άρζαι γε τον Άριστείδην ο Ἰδομενεὺς οὐ κυαμευτόν, ἀλλ' ἑλομένων Ἀθηναίων 25 φησίν. εἰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς μάχην ἦρξεν, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Δημήτριος γέγραφε, καὶ πάνυ πιθανόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ δόξη τοσαύτη καὶ κατορθώμασι τηλικούτοις ἀξιωθῆναι δι' ἀρετὴν ⟨ἀρχῆς⟩ ἧς διὰ πλοῦτον ἐτύγχανον οἱ
- 9 λαγχάνοντες. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν Δημήτριος οὐ μόνον ³⁰ ᾿Αριστείδην, ἀλλὰ καὶ Σωκράτη δῆλός ἐστι τῆς πενίας ἐξελέσθαι φιλοτιμούμενος ὡς μεγάλου κακοῦ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ φησὶν οὐ μόνον τὴν οἰκίαν ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μνᾶς ἑβδομήκοντα τοκιζομένας ὑπὸ Κρίτωνος.

2-34 228 F 43 FGrH = Socrates I B 53 SSR I 37-8 Giannantoni 5 θυγατέρας] cf. **104** 10-13 Arist. Ath. 8.1 18-19 IG II² 3027 sub finem saec. V aCn 21-3 Panaetius F 131 van Straaten = T 153 Alesse 24-6 Idomeneus 338 F 5 FGrH 26-7 cf. **103** 31-4 cf. Pl. Ap. 23B9-C1

3 ὁ μὲν Westermann: οἱ μὲν codd. 9 γενόμενον] λεγόμενον S 11 ἦρξε τῷ] ἦρχε τῶ C: ἦρχεν ὁ τῷ Sintenis 15 ἐπιφθόνοις Blass: ἐπιφθόνων codd. 16 χορηγικῆς Madvig 17 καταλέλοιπεν] κατέλιπεν Y 29 ἀρχῆς add. Reiske

103 Plutarchus, Aristides 5.9–10 (BT 1.1. 256.16–23 Ziegler)

97w 9 'Αριστείδης δὲ τὴν ἐπώνυμον εὐθὺς ἀρχὴν ἦρξε.
151w καίτοι φησὶν ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἄρξαι τὸν ἄνδρα μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θανάτου μετὰ τὴν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς
10 μάχην. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς μετὰ μὲν Ξανθιππίδην, ἐφ' οἱ Μαρδόνιος ἡττήθη Πλαταιᾶσιν, οὐδ' ὁμώνυμον 'Αριστείδην ἐν πάνυ πολλοῖς λαβεῖν ἔστι, μετὰ δὲ Φαίνιππον, ἐφ' οἱ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην ἐνίκων,

1-8 228 F 44 FGrH 2 καίτοι---Δημήτριος] cf. 102.26-7

εὐθὺς 'Αριστείδης ἄρχων ἀναγέγραπται.

- cogency of Panaetius' argument needs further looking into. As for the ostracism, ... As for the fact, finally, that Aristides did hold the office of eponymous archon, according to Idomeneus he did not obtain it by lot, but was elected by the Athenians. And if, as Demetrius himself has written, he was archon after the battle at Plataea, it is quite plausible that with such a reputation and with successes of such importance to his name he was considered worthy, owing to excellence, of an office that people usually got owing to wealth by drawing lots. Clearly, however, Demetrius is eagerly striving to exonerate not only Aristides but Socrates too from poverty as from a great evil: he says that Socrates too not only owned the house (he lived in) but also seventy minas, which were put out at interest by Crito.
 - ¹ Aristides was ostracized in 482 B.C.; cp. Aristotle Ath. 22.7.
 - ² Plutarch mentions Epaminondas and Plato as instances of men who accepted financial support in order to enter a choregic competition.
 - ³ Panaetius argues that from the Persian Wars to the end of the Peloponnesian War there are only two men named Aristides (*PA* 1686, 1687) who were registered as victors in a choregic competition, neither of them the son of a Lysimachus. The tripod belongs to one of them, who lived much later.
 - ⁴ Plutarch argues that one did not need to be rich to be ostracized and cites an instance.
 - ⁵ This is not Idomeneus the Epicurean but a namesake of his, as is demonstrated by A. Angeli, 'L'opera Sui demagoghi in Atene di Idomeneo,' Vichiana 10 (1981) 5-16.

103 Plutarch, *Aristides* 5.9–10 (*BT* 1.1.256.16–23 Ziegler)

- Aristides straightway¹ held the office of eponymous archon. However, Demetrius of Phalerum says that the man (Aristides) was archon after the battle at Plataea, shortly before his death. In the public records, however, after Xanthippides, in whose archonship Mardonius was defeated at Plataea, among a very large number not even a namesake of Aristides is to be found, but an Aristides is listed as archon immediately after Phaenippus, during whose archonship (the Athenians) won the battle at Marathon.²
 - ¹ I.e., after the battle of Marathon in 490/89 B.C.
 - ² Xanthippides was archon in 479/8; Phaenippus in 490/89; Aristides in 489/8 B.C.

96 W

94 W

556A

104 Plutarchus, *Aristides* 27.3–5 (BT 1.1. 286.12–287.3 Ziegler)

έτι δὲ Λυσιμάχου θυγατέρα Πολυκρίτην ἀπολιπόντος, ὡς Καλλισθένης φησί, καὶ ταύτη σίτησιν ὅσην τοῖς 'Ολυμπιονίκαις ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο. Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Φαληρεύς καὶ Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Ῥόδιος καὶ ᾿Αριστόξενος ὁ μουσικός καὶ 'Αριστοτέλης — εἰ δὴ τό γε περὶ εὐγενείας βιβλίον ἐν τοῖς γνησίοις 'Αριστοτέλους θετέον--ίστοροῦσι Μυρτὼ θυγατριδῆν 'Αριστείδου Σωκράτει τῷ σοφῷ συνοικῆσαι, γυναῖκα μὲν ἑτέραν ἔχοντι, ταύτην δ' άναλαβόντι, χηρεύουσαν διὰ πενίαν καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεομένην. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τούτους ἱκανῶς ὁ 10 Παναίτιος έν τοῖς περὶ Σωκράτους ἀντείρηκεν · ὁ δὲ Φαληρεύς έν τῷ Σωκράτει φησὶ μνημονεύειν 'Αριστείδου θυγατριδοῦν εὖ μάλα πένητα Λυσίμαχον, ὃς έαυτὸν μὲν ἐκ πινακίου τινὸς ὀνειροκριτικοῦ παρὰ τὸ Ίακχεῖον λεγόμενον καθεζόμενος ἔβοσκε, τῆ δὲ μητρὶ 15 καὶ τῆ ταύτης ἀδελφῆ ψήφισμα γράψας ἔπεισε τὸν δημον τροφην διδόναι τριώβολον εκάστης ημέρας.

1-19 228 F 45a FGrH 1-15 Arist. F 71,1 Gigon 1-3 Callisth. 124 F 48 FGrH; cf. 102.4-6 3-19 Socrates I B 54 SSR I 38 Giannantoni 3-11 Hieronym. F 43 Wehrli = Aristox. F 58 Wehrli = Socrates I B 49 SSR I 36 Giannantoni = Panaetius F 132 van Straaten = T 142 Alesse 3-10 Arist. F 3 Ross; cf. 105

αὐτὸς μέντοι φησὶν ὁ Δημήτριος νομοθετῶν ἀντὶ τριω-

βόλου δραχμὴν ἑκατέρα τάξαι τῶν γυναικῶν.

105 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 13.2 555D–556B (BT 3.225.25 –226.13 Kaibel)

ἐκ τούτων οὖν τις ὁρμώμενος μέμψαιτ' ἂν τοὺς περιτιθέντας Σωκράτει δύο γαμετὰς γυναῖκας, Ξανθίππην καὶ τὴν 'Αριστείδου Μυρτώ, οὐ τοῦ δικαίου καλουμένου (οἱ χρόνοι γὰρ οὐ συγχωροῦσιν) ἀλλὰ τοῦ τρίτου ἀπ' ἐκείνου. εἰσὶ δὲ Καλλισθένης, Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς, Σάτυρος ὁ περιπατητικός, 'Αριστόξενος, οἷς τὸ ἐνδόσιμον 'Αριστοτέλης ἔδωκεν ἱστορῶν τοῦτο ἐν τῷ περὶ Εὐγενείας · εἰ μὴ ἄρα συγκεχωρημένον κατὰ ψήφισμα τοῦτο ἐγένετο τότε διὰ σπάνιν ἀνθρώπων, ὥστ' ἐξεῖναι καὶ δύο ἔχειν γυναῖκας τὸν βουλόμενον, ὅθεν 10

104 Plutarch, *Aristides* 27.3–5 (*BT* 1.1.286.12–287.3 Ziegler)

Furthermore, Lysimachus left a daughter, Polycrite, according 3 to Callisthenes, and the people voted her a public maintenance of the same magnitude as that given to the victors at the Olympic Games. Demetrius of Phalerum, Hieronymus of Rhodes, the musicologist Aristoxenus and Aristotle—if indeed the book On Being Well-Born is to be placed among Aristotle's genuine writings—report that Aristides' granddaughter Myrto lived together with the sage Socrates, who had another woman but took up this one as she remained a widow due to her poverty and lacked the necessities of life. These authors are adequately answered by Panaetius in his (chapters) on Socrates. And (Demetrius) of Phalerum in his Socrates says that he remembers a grandson of Aristides, (named) Lysimachus, as a very poor man. He earned a living from a kind of tablet for interpreting dreams, while sitting next to what is called the Iaccheion, and he proposed to the assembly and carried a resolution allowing his mother and her sister three obols a day to feed themselves. Demetrius, however, says that he himself, when he was legislator, awarded each of the women a drachma instead of three obols.

105 Athenaeus, The Sophists at Dinner 13.2 555D-556B (BT 3.225.25-226.13 Kaibel)

Taking these facts as one's point of departure,¹ one may criticize those who give Socrates two wedded wives, Xanthippe and Myrto the daughter of Aristides, not the one called the Just—the times do not fit—, but the third after him.² Those who do so, are Callisthenes, Demetrius of Phalerum, Satyrus the Peripatetic, and Aristoxenus. Their statements all have their origin in Aristotle's report to this effect in his *On Being Well-Born*. It is, however, possible that this came to be allowed by decree because of a dearth of population at the time, with the result that whoever so wished, could also have two wives—which would also explain why the

⁵ εἰ δὴ τό γε S: εἰ δὴ τὸ Y: εἴγε δὴ τὸ Ziegler 15 λεγόμενον om. S 16–17 ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον S: δωρεὰν ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον Y 18–19 αὐτὸς—δραχμὴν] αὐτὸς μέντοι ὁ Δημήτριος νομοθετῶν ἐψηφίσατο δραχμὴν Y 18 ⟨αν⟩ ἀντὶ J. Labarbe, AC 64 (1995) 13–14

B

καὶ τοὺς τῆς κωμφδίας ποιητὰς ἀποσιωπῆσαι τοῦτο, πολλάκις τοῦ Σωκράτους μνημονεύοντας.

παρέθετο δὲ περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ψήφισμα Ἱερώνυμος ο 'Ρόδιος, ὅπερ σοι διαπέμψομαι εὐπορήσας τοῦ βιβλίου, ἀντεῖπε δὲ τοῖς λέγουσι περὶ τῶν Σωκράτους 15 γυναικών Παναίτιος ὁ 'Ρόδιος.

 $1-16\ 228\ F\ 45b\ FGrH = Panaetius\ F\ 133\ van\ Straaten = T\ 143\ Alesse$ = Callisth. 124 F 43 FGrH = Arist. F 71, 2 Gigon 1-15 Hieronym. F 1-8 Socrates IB 48 = 52 SSR I 37 Giannantoni = Aristox. 44 Wehrli F 57 Wehrli = Arist. F 3 Ross; cf. 104.3-10 et D.L. 2.26 (= Socrates I B 7a SSR I 22 Giannantoni), ubi Aristoteles, Satyrus et Hieronymus nominantur 6 Satyrus F 15 FHG III 163

13 <τὸ> περὶ Meineke

106 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 9.15 (OCT 2.443.24–7 Long)

Δημήτριος δέ φησιν έν τοῖς 'Ομωνύμοις καὶ 'Αθηναίων αὐτὸν ὑπερφρονῆσαι, δόξαν ἔχοντα παμπλείστην, καταφρονούμενόν τε ύπὸ τῶν Ἐφεσίων μαλλον τὰ οἰκεῖα. μέμνηται αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος έν τῆ Σωκράτους ἀπολογία.

> 1-5 Heraclit. 22 A 1 DK I 142.24-7 1-4 Demetr. Magn. F 27 Mejer 4-5 228 F 40 FGrH

5

107 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 9.57 (OCT 2.467.13–17 Long)

> Διογένης 'Απολλοθέμιδος 'Απολλωνιάτης, ἀνὴρ φυσικός καὶ ἄγαν ἐλλόγιμος. ἤκουσε δέ, φησὶν 'Αντισθένης, 'Αναξιμένους. ἦν δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις κατ' 'Αναξαγόραν. τοῦτόν φησιν ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἐν τῆ Σωκράτους ἀπολογία διὰ μέγαν φθόνον μικροῦ 5 κινδυνεῦσαι 'Αθήνησιν.

1-6 228 F 42 FGrH; Diog. Apoll. 64 A 1 DK II 51.38-52.2 = T 1 Laks 3 Antisth. 508 F 15 FGrH 4-6 τοῦτον—'Αθήνησιν] = Eudociae Violarium 329 (238.15-17 Flach)

92 W

1 Δημήτριος *FP^{pc}*: δημόκριτος *BP^{ac}*

91 W

comic poets passed over this (Socrates' having two wives) in silence, though they often mention Socrates.

Hieronymus of Rhodes has cited as evidence a decree about the wives, which I will send on to you as soon as I have the book at my disposal.³ Panaetius of Rhodes has answered those who speak of Socrates' wives.

- ¹ Athenaeus has just told how their host Larensis has explained how in Athens Cecrops was the first to join one man to one woman.
- ² Aristides the Just died *ca*. 467, Socrates was born in 470/69. The Aristides meant must be his grandson (*PA* 1696). He was a pupil of Socrates.
- ³Athenaeus is addressing Timocrates to whom he tells the story of the banquet.

106 Diogenes Laertius, The Lives of the Philosophers 9.15 (OCT 2.443.24-7 Long)

Demetrius in his *Namesakes* says that he (Heraclitus) looked down even on the Athenians, although he was very highly esteemed (by them), and that although he was slighted by the Ephesians (he preferred) what was his own all the more. Demetrius of Phalerum too mentions him in his *Apology of Socrates*.

107 Diogenes Laertius, The Lives of the Philosophers 9.57 (OCT 2.467.13–17 Long)

Diogenes of Apollonia, son of Apollothemis, (was) a highly respected natural philosopher. According to Antisthenes, he attended (the) lectures of Anaximenes. He lived at the time of Anaxagoras. In his *Apology of Socrates* Demetrius of Phalerum says that because of (incurring) great envy he came close to losing his life in Athens.¹

¹ Diels has this last statement refer to Anaxagoras, but see Wehrli p. 64 on F 91.

196 Demetrius of Phalerum

137 W

Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 9.37 (OCT 2.456.6–7 Long)

93 w Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῆ Σωκράτους ἀπολογία μηδὲ ἐλθεῖν φησιν αὐτὸν εἰς 'Αθήνας.

1-2 228 F 41 FGrH = Democr. 68 A 1 DK II 82.14-16

Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum* 2.44 (OCT 1.75.10–17 Long)

εγεννήθη δέ, καθά φησιν 'Απολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς, ἐπὶ 'Αφεψίωνος τῷ τετάρτῷ ἔτει τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς ἑβδόμης 'Ολυμπιάδος, Θαργηλιῶνος ἕκτῃ, ὅτε καθαίρουσιν 'Αθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν "Αρτεμιν Δήλιοι γενέσθαι φασίν. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τῷ πρώτῷ ἔτει τῆς ἐνενηκοστῆς πέμπτης 'Ολυμπιάδος, γεγονὼς ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα. ταὐτά φησι καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς. ἔνιοι γὰρ ἑξήκοντα ἐτῶν τελευτῆσαι αὐτόν φασιν.

1-8 228 F 10 FGrH = Apollod. 244 F 34 FGrH = Socrates I D 1 SSR I 221.269-75 Giannantoni 7 ἑβδομήκοντα] Pl. Ap. 17D2-3

De principibus et imperatoribus Atheniensium

110 Cicero, *De Officiis* 2.17.60 (OCT 95.22–96.4 Winterbottom)

atque etiam illae impensae meliores, muri navalia portus aquarum ductus omniaque quae ad usum rei publicae pertinent, quamquam quod praesens tamquam in manum datur iucundius est, tamen haec in posterum gratiora. theatra, porticus, nova templa verecundius reprendo propter Pompeium, sed doctissimi non probant, ut et hic ipse Panaetius quem multum his libris secutus sum non interpretatus, et Phalereus Demetrius, qui Periclem, principem Graeciae, vituperat quod tantam pecuniam in praeclara illa propylaea coniecerit. sed de hoc genere toto in iis libris, quos de re publica scripsi diligenter est

108 Diogenes Laertius, The Lives of the Philosophers 9.37 (OCT 2.456.6-7 Long)

Demetrius of Phalerum in his *Apology of Socrates* says that he (Democritus) did not even come to Athens.¹

¹ Diogenes inserts this reference to Demetrius after quoting Demetrius of Magnesia (F 29 Mejer) and Thrasyllus (F 5 FHG III 504 = T 18a Tarrant) to the effect that Democritus had been in Athens and had talked to Socrates.

109 Diogenes Laertius, The Lives of the Philosophers 2.44 (OCT 1.75.10-17 Long)

He (Socrates) was born, as Apollodorus says in his *Chronicles*, at the time of (the archonship of) Aphepsion in the fourth year of the seventy-seventh Olympiad on the sixth (day) of (the month) Thargelion, the day the Athenians purge the city and the Delians say that Artemis was born. He died in the first year of the ninety-fifth Olympiad at the age of seventy. The same is said by Demetrius of Phalerum as well, but there are people who say that he (Socrates) died at sixty.

¹ Olympiad 77,4 = 469/8, the year that Aphepsion was archon; Olympiad 95,1 = 400/399 B.C.

On Leaders and Generals of the Athenians

110 Cicero, On Duties 2.17.60 (OCT 95.22–96.4 Winterbottom)

And furthermore, the following ways of spending money are even better: walls, dockyards, ports, water conduits, and anything that has to do with public utility; despite the fact that what is given here and now as it were in one's hands, gives more immediate pleasure, these things are more satisfying in the long run. Theatres, galleries, and new temples I hesitate to find fault with because of Pompey, but very learned men do not approve of them, for instance both Panaetius here himself, whom I have extensively followed in these books without translating him, and Demetrius of Phalerum who takes to task Pericles, the leader of Greece, for spending so much money on those famous Propylaea. However, this whole question has been thoroughly discussed in

disputatum.

4–12 228 F 8 F GrH 4–10 Panaetius F 122 van Straaten = T 17 Alesse 8–12 cf. **89**.17–21 et **115**; Plu. Per. 12 8 in iis libris] Rep. 4.7 (= Non. p. 24,15)

Scholium in Aristophanis *Vespas* 240a (SA 2.1.45.11–16 Koster)

1501 W

ώς τοῦ Κλέωνος εἰς δίκην ἐπαγαγόντος τὸν Λάχητα. στρατηγῆσαι δὲ αὐτόν φησι Δημήτριος ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐκλέους πρὸ τριῶν ἐτῶν εἰς Σικελίαν πεμφθέντα μετὰ νεῶν Λεοντίνοις βοηθήσοντα · οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φιλόχορον διαδέξασθαι αὐτόν φασι Σοφοκλέα καὶ Πυθόδωρον, οὺς καὶ φυγῆ ζημιωθῆναι. εἰκὸς γοῦν μετακληθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν κρίσιν, ἧς νῦν ὁ κωμικὸς μνημονεύει.

1-7 Philoch. 328 F 127 FGrH

scholium vetus et triclinium 2 δὲ VAld: γὰρ Lh 2–3 ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐκλέους om. Ald 3–4 μετὰ ⟨κ΄⟩ νεῶν dubitanter Jacoby coll. Thuc. 3.86.1, D.S. 12.54.4

Scholium in Aristophanis *Ranas* 1196 (307.14–20 Dübner)

150II W

μετ' Ἐρασινίδου· εἷς τῶν περὶ ᾿Αργίνουσαν στρατηγησάντων δυστυχῶς. ἀπέθανε δὲ δημοσία, οὖτός τε καὶ οἱ ὑπομείναντες, Θράσυλλος, Περικλῆς, Λυσίας, ᾿Αριστοκράτης, Διομέδων, ὡς φησι Φιλόχορος. Δημήτριος δέ φησι περιττότερόν τι γενέσθαι τῷ Ἐρασινίδη, τὸ καὶ κλοπῆς κατηγορηθῆναι τῶν περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον χρημάτων.

1-7 Philoch. 328 F 142 FGrH = Suda ε 3234 (LG 1.2.430.29-431.3 Adler)

De Lycurgo

113 Plutarchus, *Lycurgus* 23.1–2 (BT 3.2.36.18–28 Ziegler)

89 w 1 αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Λυκοῦργον Ἱππίας μὲν ὁ σοφιστὴς πολεμικώτατόν φησι γενέσθαι καὶ πολλῶν ἔμπειρον

the books I have written about the state.

111 Scholium on Aristophanes' Wasps 240a (SA 2.1.45.11–16 Koster)

(He [Aristophanes] says that¹) since Cleon was bringing suit against Laches. For according to Demetrius he (Laches) had been general during the archonship of Eucles three years earlier² when he was sent to Sicily with ships to support Leontini. According to those around Philochorus, Sophocles and Pythodorus took over his command and they were also punished with exile. However that may be, it is likely that he was recalled for the judicial examination to which the comic poet here refers.

- ¹ The leader of the chorus says to the chorus of wasps, "Come let us be stirring, sirs, for Laches shall catch it now" (Starkie).
- ² I.e., than the year in which the *Wasps* was produced (423/2 B.C.). Eucles was archon in 427/6.

112 Scholium on the *Frogs* of Aristophanes 1196 (307.14–20 Dübner)

With Erasinides: One of the admirals who had been defeated at Arginusae. He died by the hands of the public executioner, together with those who had been awaiting trial, Thrasyllus, Pericles, Lysias, Aristocrates, Diomedon, according to Philochorus. According to Demetrius, something (even) more extraordinary happened to Erasinides, i.e. that he was also accused of embezzlement of the Hellespont funds.

scholium vetus 1 εἷς om. R: ἐκ Suda 3-4 Περικλῆς—Διομέδων] Περικλῆς καὶ οἱ λοιποί Suda 3 Λυσίας add. Dindorf e Xen. HG 1.7.2: χύσις R: om. V 4-5 ώς φησι—γενέσθαι] ἐγένετο δέ τι καὶ περιττότερον Suda 4-7 Δημήτριος—χρημάτων desunt in R

On Lycurgus

113 Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 23.1–2 (*BT* 3.2.36.18–28 Ziegler)

Of Lycurgus himself¹ the sophist Hippias says that he was very warlike and had experience of many military expeditions.

στρατειῶν, Φιλοστέφανος δὲ καὶ τὴν κατ' οὐλαμοὺς τῶν ἱππέων διανομὴν Λυκούργω προστίθησιν· εἶναι δὲ τὸν οὐλαμόν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος συνέστησεν, ἱππέων πεντήκοντα πλῆθος ἐν τετραγώνω σχήματι τεταγμένων. ὁ δὲ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος, οὐδεμιᾶς ἁψάμενον πολεμικῆς πράξεως ἐν εἰρήνῃ καταστήσασθαι τὴν πολιτείαν. ἔοικε δὲ καὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιακῆς ἐκεχειρίας ἡ ἐπίνοια πράου καὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην οἰκείως ἔχοντος ἀνδρὸς εἶναι.

1-10 228 F 21 FGrH 1-3 Hippias 86 B 11 DK 3 Philosteph. FHG III 33

10

4 διανομὴν S marg. L marg.: διαμονὴν S: νομὴν L 5 ἔστησεν L^{I} 6 τεταγμένον L^{I}

Varia

De Thesei nave

114 Plutarchus, *Theseus* 23.1 (BT 1.1.20.13–20 Ziegler)

155 W

τὸ δὲ πλοῖον ἐν ῷ μετὰ τῶν ἠιθέων ἔπλευσε καὶ πάλιν ἐσώθη, τὴν τριακόντορον, ἄχρι τῶν Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως χρόνων διεφύλαττον οἱ ᾿Αθηναῖοι, τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ τῶν ξύλων ὑφαιροῦντες, ἄλλα δ᾽ ἐμβάλλοντες ἰσχυρὰ καὶ συμπηγνύντες οὕτως, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις εἰς τὸν αὐξόμενον λόγον ἀμφιδοξούμενον παράδειγμα τὸ πλοῖον εἶναι, τῶν μὲν ὡς τὸ αὐτό, τῶν δ᾽ ὡς οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ διαμένοι λεγόντων.

1-8 228 F 23 FGrH; cf. Pl. Phd. 58A10-B4

De ludis

115 Plutarchus, De gloria Atheniensium 6 349A–B (BT 2.131.1–3; 4–6; 10–18 Nachstädt)

ἂν γὰρ ἐκλογισθῆ τῶν δραμάτων ἕκαστον ὅσου κατέστη, πλέον ἀνηλωκὼς φανεῖται ὁ δῆμος εἰς Βάκχας καὶ (...), ὧν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας πολεμῶν τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνάλωσεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ στρατηγοὶ (...)· οἱ δὲ χορηγοὶ τοῖς χορευταῖς ἐγχέλεια 5

Philostephanus also ascribes to Lycurgus the division of the cavalry into troops, a troop as organized by him being a squadron of fifty horse drawn up in a square. But Demetrius of Phalerum (says) that he did not engage in any action of war and established his constitution in peace. The conception of the Olympic truce² also strikes one as coming from a man who was mild and a friend to peace.

- ¹ As opposed to the typically Spartan warlike mentality, referred to by Plutarch in 22.
 - ² Instituted by him and Iphitus, Plu. Lyc. 1.2.

Miscellaneous

On the Ship of Theseus

114 Plutarch, *Theseus* 23.1 (*BT* 1.1.20.13–20 Ziegler)

The ship on which he (Theseus) sailed with his young men and returned home again safe, the one with thirty oars, was preserved by the Athenians down to the times of Demetrius of Phalerum. They regularly removed old timbers, put in other strong ones and fastened them, in such a way that for philosophers the ship was a (much) debated example in the growing controversy in which some argued that it (the ship) remained the same and others that it did not remain the same.

On Contests

115 Plutarch, On the Fame of the Athenians 6 349A–B (BT 2.131.1–3; 4–6; 10–18 Nachstädt)

For if one computes the cost of production of each of the plays, it will appear that the people have spent more on the *Bacchae* and on $(...^1)$ than it spent in fighting the barbarians in defense of its leadership and its liberty. For the generals, on the one hand, $(...^2)$; the producers, on the other, served up for the chorus members

136 W

καὶ θριδάκια καὶ σκελίδας καὶ μυελὸν παρατιθέντες, εὐώχουν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον φωνασκουμένους καὶ τρυφῶντας, καὶ τούτων τοῖς μὲν ἡττηθεῖσι περιῆν προσυβρίσθαι καὶ γεγονέναι καταγελάστους τοῖς δὲ νικήσασιν ὁ τρίπους ὑπῆρχεν, οὐκ ἀνάθημα τῆς νίκης, ώς Δημήτριός φησιν, άλλ' ἐπίσπεισμα τῶν ἐκκεχυμένων βίων καὶ τῶν ἐκλελοιπότων κενοτάφιον οἴκων. τοιαῦτα γὰρ τὰ ποιητικῆς τέλη καὶ λαμπρότερον οὐδὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν.

1–13 228 F 25 FGrH 9–13 cf. U. Koehler, RhM 53 (1898) 491–3

5 χορευταίς ΦΠ: στρατευταίς Σ 6 σκελίδας Reiske: σκελλίδας 7 ὁ Emperius: οὐ codd. 11-12 ἐπίσπεισμα-βίων Reiske: codd. ἐπὶ πεισμάτων ἐκκεχυμένον βίον codd. 12 οἴκων Reiske: οἶκον codd.

De metallis

Strabo, Geographica 3.2.9 (CB 2.42.4–43.6; 43.20 Lasserre) 116A

Ποσειδώνιος δέ, τὸ πληθος τῶν μετάλλων ἐπαινῶν καὶ τὴν ἀρετήν, οὐκ ἀπέχεται τῆς συνήθους ἡητορείας, άλλὰ συνενθουσιᾶ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς. οὐ γὰρ ἀπιστεῖν τῷ μύθω φησίν, ὅτι τῶν δρυμῶν ποτε ἐμπρησθέντων ἡ γῆ τακείσα, άτε άργυρίτις καὶ χρυσίτις, εἰς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν έξέζεσε διὰ τὸ πᾶν ὄρος καὶ πάντα βουνὸν ὕλην εἶναι νομίσματος ύπό τινος ἀφθόνου τύχης σεσωρευμένην. "Καθόλου δ' ἂν εἶπε," φησίν, "ἰδών τις τοὺς τόπους, θησαυρούς εἶναι φύσεως ἀενάους ἢ ταμιεῖον ἡγεμονίας άνέκλειπτον · οὐ γὰρ πλουσία μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπό- 10 πλουτος ήν," φησίν, "ή χώρα, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις ὡς άληθῶς τὸν ὑποχθόνιον τόπον οὐχ ὁ "Αιδης, ἀλλ' ὁ Πλούτων κατοικεί." τοιαθτα μέν οθν έν †ουρανώ† σχήματι εἴρηκε περὶ τούτων, ὡς ἂν ἐκ μετάλλου καὶ αὐτὸς πολλῷ χρώμενος τῷ λόγω.

τὴν δ' ἐπιμέλειαν φράζων τὴν τῶν μεταλλευόντων παρατίθησι τὸ τοῦ Φαληρέως, ὅτι φησιν ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ τῶν 'Αττικῶν ἀργυρείων οὕτω συντόνως ὀρύττειν τοὺς άνθρώπους, ως αν προσδοκώντων αὐτὸν ἀνάξειν τὸν

138a W

Πλούτωνα · καὶ τούτων οὖν ἐμφανίζει παραπλησίαν τὴν 20

15

nice little eels and small crops of lettuce and spare ribs and marrow, feasting them at length while they trained their voice and lived in luxury. For those of them (the producers) who were beaten, there was nothing left but to be the object of scorn and ridicule; but for those who won, there was the tripod, this being, as Demetrius says, not a votive offering to celebrate their victory, but a last libation of their spilt livelihood and an empty memorial of their bankrupt estates. For such were the rewards of the art of poetry and nothing more splendid (ever) came from them.

- ¹ The other plays listed are *Phoenissae*, *Oedipus*, *Antigone*, *Medea* and *Electra*.
- ² Here Plutarch reports the meagre diet on which the Athenian soldiers had to fight.

On Mines

116A Strabo, *Geography* 3.2.9 (*CB* 2.42.4–43.6; 43.20 Lasserre)

In praising the quantity and quality of the metals (in Turdetania¹) Posidonius does not abstain from his usual rhetoric; on the contrary, he completely loses himself in hyperboles: he says he well believes the story that once, when the forests caught fire, the earth melted, since it contained silver- and gold-ore, and boiled out to the surface because of the fact that every mountain and every hill was material of coin piled up by an ungrudging fortune. "In sum", he says, "anyone looking at the area would have said that it was an everlasting treasure house of nature or the unfailing treasury of an empire. For the country was not just rich, but even rich underneath", he says, "and with these people it is truly not Hades but Pluto who inhabits the nether regions." Of this kind, then, are the things he says on this subject in a †heaven(ly)†² style, drawing a mass of speech as if from a mine himself too.

In illustrating the diligence of the miners he cites what the Phalerean says with reference to the Attic silver-mines, (viz.) that the men dig as intently as if they expected to bring up Pluto himself. So in their (the miners in Turdetania) case too, he (Posidonius) indicates that their zeal and industry are similar, cutting their shafts aslant and deep, and as to the waterstreams they

σπουδήν καὶ τὴν φιλεργίαν, σκολιὰς τεμνόντων καὶ βαθείας τὰς σύριγγας, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς άπαντῶντας ποταμούς πολλάκις τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις άναντλούντων κοχλίαις. †τὸν δόλον †οὐ ταὐτὸν εἶναι τούτοις τε καὶ τοῖς 'Αττικοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν αἰνίγματι 25 έοικέναι την μεταλλείαν · "όσα μεν γαρ ανέλαβον," φησίν, "οὐκ ἔλαβον, ὅσα δὲ εἶχον, ἀπέβαλον " τούτοις δ' ύπεράγαν λυσιτελή, ... ούτος μὲν περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τοιαῦτ' εἴρηκε.

1-29 Posidon. F 239 Edelstein-Kidd = 87 F 47 FGrH 16-27 228 F 35a FGrH 24-7 v. ad 116B.8-10 25 αἰνίγματι] cf. Homeri Vitam Herodoteam 35

[B = Vatop. 655 (= W); j = Laur. 28.5 (= B)] 5 τακείσα Xylander: τὰ καινὰ codd. 9 ἀενάους Kramer: ἀεννάου codd.: ἀενάου Lasserre 10 ἀνέκλειπτον Planudes: ἀνεκλείπτου AC: ἀνεκλίπτου 13 †οὐρανῷ†] ὡραίῳ A^{mg} j s nq: ἡητορικῷ $h^{\gamma\rho}$ i $^{\gamma\rho}$ 18 άργυρείων nq: ἀργυρίων ABC 19 προσδοκώντων AC: προσδοκόντων B: προσδοκῶντας $j^{s}nq$ 20 τού-των A: τοῦτον $BC \parallel παραπλησίαν <math>jnq$: καὶ παραπλησίαν ABC 22 πρὸς del. Korais 24 ἀναντλούντων

Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 6.23 233D-E (BT 2.24.4-14 116B Kaibel)

> καὶ τά τε πάλαι μὲν 'Ριπαῖα καλούμενα ὄρη, εἶθ' ύστερον "Ολβια προσαγορευθέντα, νῦν δὲ "Αλπια (ἔστι δὲ τῆς Γαλατίας) αὐτομάτως ὕλης ἐμπρησθείσης ἀργύρω διερρύη, τὸ μέντοι γε πολύ τούτου βαθείαις καὶ 5 κακοπαθέσι μεταλλείαις ευρίσκεται κατά τον Φαληρέα Δημήτριον έλπιζούσης της πλεονεξίας ανάξειν έκ των μυχῶν τῆς γῆς αὐτὸν τὸν Πλούτωνα, χαριεντιζόμενος γοῦν φησιν ὅτι "πολλάκις καταναλώσαντες τὰ φανερὰ τῶν ἀδήλων ἕνεκα ἃ μὲν ἔμελλον οὐκ ἔλαβον, ἃ δ' εἶχον 10 ἀπέβαλον ὥσπερ αἰνίγματος τρόπον ἀτυχοῦντες."

1-10 Ath. Epit. (2.1.90.9-16 Peppink) [= EC]; Posidon. F 240a Edelstein-Kidd = 87 F 48(b) FGrH 1-7 similiter Eust. Od. 4.89 (1.151.43-152.2 Stallbaum) (= Posidon. F 240b Edelstein-Kidd), qui apophthegma Demetrii non laudat 4-10 228 F 35b FGrH D.S. 5.37.1, ubi Demetrius non nominatur

138b W

meet with in the shafts, often drawing them off with Egyptian screws. (But) †the bait†³ is not the same for these miners as for those in Attica; no, for the latter mining is like a riddle: "all they took up," he says, "they did not get; all that they had, they lost." For the former, on the other hand, it is much too profitable, ... Such is what he (Posidonius) says about the mines.

Κοταίς: ἀνατλοῦντα AB: ἀναπλοῦντας C || κοχλίαις Casaubon: σκολιαῖς codd. || †τὸν δόλον†] τὸ δ' ὅλον $h^{pc}i$, Scaliger: τὸν δὲ λόγον οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι P^c 25 τούτοις τε καὶ Korais: τοῦτόν ποτε καὶ A: τοῦτό ποτε καὶ BC: τούτοις ποτὲ καὶ P^c 26 ἀνέλαβον A: ἀν ἕλαβον BC

116B Athenaeus, The Sophists at Dinner 6.23 233D-E (BT 2.24.4-14 Kaibel)

And the mountains that long ago were called Rhipaean, then later on were spoken of as Olbian, and nowadays as Alpian—they are in Galatia—, spontaneously oozed silver when a forest fire broke out. Most of it, however, is found by mining at a deep level and under wretched conditions, as Demetrius of Phalerum says, for the greed (of the miners) expects to bring up out of the recesses of the earth Pluto himself. At least he says, with a witty play upon words, that "often they spent the things that are visible for the sake of things invisible; what they were going to (get) they did not get, and what they had they lost, having bad luck as it were in the manner of the riddle."

¹ In southern Spain.

² The text appears to be corrupt; the variant reading in the margin of A would give "fully developed."

³The text appears to be corrupt; the other readings would give "on the whole the situation is not the same" and "the account is not the same" respectively.

⁴The riddle is modelled on the Homeric riddle (*Life of Homer* 35) of unsuccessful fisher boys catching lice instead: "What we caught we left behind; what we did not catch we carry with us."

⁵ κακοπαθέσι Ε: κακοπάθοις ΑC, Eust. 8–9 πολλάκις— ἕνεκα om. D.S. 9 ὰ— ἔμελλον] ὰ μὲν ἤλπισαν ἐνίοτε λαβεῖν D.S. 10 ὥσπερ—ἀτυχοῦντες] ὥστε δοκεῖν αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ αἰνίγματος τρόπον ἀτυχεῖν D.S.

De pretio victimarum

117 Plutarchus, *Solon* 23.3–4 (BT 1.1.110.14–24 Ziegler)

είς μέν γε τὰ τιμήματα τῶν θυσιῶν λογίζεται πρόβατον καὶ δραχμὴν ἀντὶ μεδίμνου, τῷ δ' Ἰσθμια νικήσαντι δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν ἔταξε δίδοσθαι, τῷ δ' 'Ολυμπιονίκῃ πεντακοσίας, λύκον δὲ τῷ κομίσαντι πέντε δραχμάς, λυκιδέα δὲ μίαν, ὧν φησιν ὁ Φαληρεὺς

4 Δημήτριος τὸ μὲν βοὸς εἶναι, τὸ δὲ προβάτου τιμήν. ἃς γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἑκκαιδεκάτῳ τῶν ἀξόνων ὁρίζει τιμὰς τῶν ἐκκρίτων ἱερείων, εἰκὸς μὲν εἶναι πολλαπλασίας, ἄλλως δὲ κἀκεῖναι πρὸς τὰς νῦν εὐτελεῖς εἰσιν. ἀρχαῖον δὲ τοῖς ᾿Αθηναίοις τὸ πολεμεῖν τοῖς λύκοις, βελτίονα νέμειν ἢ 10 γεωργεῖν χώραν ἔχουσι.

 $1-11 = Solon\ T\ 8\ Ruschenbusch$ $1-2 = Solon\ T\ 485\ Martina = F\ 77\ Ruschenbusch$ $2-6\ 228\ F\ 22\ FGrH$ $2-4 = Solon\ T\ 484a\ Martina$ $= F\ 143a\ Ruschenbusch$; cf. D.L. 1.55 $4-11 = Solon\ T\ 486\ Martina$ $4-6 = Solon\ F\ 92\ Ruschenbusch$

147 W

⁴ ὀλυμπιονίκη S: ὀλύμπια Smarg. Y 5 ὧν Stephanus: ὡς codd., sed supra lin. S 9 τὰς νῦν Stephanus: τὰ νῦν codd.

On the Price of Sacrificial Animals

117 Plutarch, *Solon* 23.3–4 (*BT* 1.1.110.14–24 Ziegler)

- With respect to the valuation of sacrifices he (Solon) reckons a sheep and one drachma as the equivalent of one bushel (of grain); he fixed the prize to be awarded to a victor at the Isthmian Games at one hundred drachmas, for one at the Olympic Games at five hundred, for bringing in a wolf five drachmas, and a wolf-whelp one drachma, the first being the price of an ox and the second of a
- sheep according to Demetrius of Phalerum. These prices for select sacrificial animals specified by him in the sixteenth of his Tables are naturally many times as high (as those for ordinary animals), and even so these (prices) are affordable compared to current ones. The Athenians have been fighting wolves from days immemorial, their land being better suited to pasture than to agriculture.

Orationes, Rhetorica et Poetica

cf. dictum Demetrii in 133.37-8

Inscriptiones librorum

- Tabula inscriptionum ad orationes, opera rhetorica et poetica spectantium
 - Δημηγοριῶν Συναγωγή] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.80 =
 1.62-3 (δημηγοριῶν ... συναγωγαί)
 - 2 Πρεσβειῶν Συναγωγή] Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae* 5.80 = **1**.62-3 (πρεσβειῶν ... συναγωγαί)
 - 3 Βοιωτιακός] Tabula Rhodiensis, col. I 1 = 80.1
 - 4 Πρεσβευτικὸς α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.88
 - 5 Περὶ ἡητορικῆς α' β'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.80 = 1.70; Philodemus, De Rhetorica, PHerc. 1004, col. 48.2—3 = 132.2–3 (ἐν [τ]ῷ περὶ τῆς ἡητορικῆς); PHerc. 1015, fr. 6.5–6 = 141.5–6 (ἐν τοῖς πε[ρὶ τῆς ἡη]τορικῆς); Scholium ad Tzetzae Chiliadas 5.209 = 148.4 ('Υρητορικῆς)
 - 6 Περὶ πίστεως α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.89
 - 7 Aἰσωπείων α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.108; cf. Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.80 = 1.63 (λόγων Αἰσωπείων συναγωγαί)
 - 8 'Ομηρικὸς α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.81
 - 9 Περὶ Ἰλιάδος α'β'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.72
 - 10 Περὶ Ὀδυσσείας α΄ β΄ γ΄ δ΄] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81
 = 1.73
 - 11 Περὶ 'Αντιφάνους α'] Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae* 5.81 = **1**.102
 - cf. Δημητρίου Φαληρέως Περὶ ἑρμηνείας = **159 60** et Δημητρίου [Φαληρέως] τύποι ἐπιστολικοί = **161**

inscriptiones Δικανικῶν Λόγων Συναγωγή et Σοφιστικῶν vel Ἐπιδεικτικῶν Λόγων Συναγωγή, quas Wehrli p. 37 per similitudinem inscriptionum Δημηγοριῶν Συναγωγή et Πρεσβειῶν Συναγωγή (nos. 1–2) per coniecturam posuit, in hoc volumine non receptae sunt

Speeches, Rhetoric and Poetics

cp. the saying of Demetrius in 133.37-8

Titles of Books

- 118 List of Titles Referring to Speeches and to Works on Rhetoric and Poetics
 - 1 Collection of Public Speeches] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.80 = 1.62-3 ("collections ... of public speeches")
 - 2 Collection of embassy addresses] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.80 = 1.62-3 ("collections ... of embassy addresses")
 - 3 Boeotian (Speech)] Rhodian Book Catalogue, col. I 1 = 80.1
 - 4 Ambassadorial Address] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.88
 - 5 On (the Art of) Rhetoric, 2 books] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.80 = 1.70; Philodemus, On Rhetoric, PHerc. 1004, col. 48.2-3 = 132.2-3 ("in his On Rhetoric"); PHerc. 1015, fr. 6.5-6 = 141.5-6 ("in his On Rhetoric"); Scholium on the Chiliads of Tzetzes 5.209 = 148.4 ("in his Rhetoric")
 - 6 On Proof (or On Trust), 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.89
 - 7 Aesopic Fables, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.108; cf. Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.80 = 1.63 ("collections ... of Aesopic fables")
 - 8 (Dialogue) on Homer, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.81
 - 9 On the Iliad, 2 books] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.72
 - 10 On the Odyssey, 4 books] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.73
 - 11 On Antiphanes, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.102
 - cp. Demetrius [of Phalerum], On Style = 159-60 and Demetrius of Phalerum, Models for letter-writing = 161

the titles Collection of Forensic Speeches and Collection of Sophistic or Epideictic Speeches, which Wehrli p. 37 posited on the analogy of the titles Collection of Public Speeches and Collection of embassy addresses (nos. 1–2), have not been accepted in this edition

De Demetrii elocutione iudicia

Cicero, De Officiis 1.1.3 (OCT 2.4–16 Winterbottom) 119

quam ob rem magnopere te hortor, mi Cicero, ut non solum orationes meas, sed hos etiam de philosophia libros, qui iam illis fere se aequarunt, studiose legas; vis enim maior in illis dicendi, sed hoc quoque colendum est aequabile et temperatum orationis genus. et id quidem nemini video Graecorum adhuc contigisse, ut idem utroque in genere laboraret sequereturque et illud forense dicendi et hoc quietum disputandi genus: nisi forte Demetrius Phalereus in hoc numero haberi potest, disputator subtilis, orator parum vehemens, dulcis tamen, ut Theophrasti discipulum possis agnoscere. nos autem quantum in utroque profecerimus, aliorum sit iudicium: utrumque certe secuti sumus.

 $5-11\ 228\ T\ 9a\ FGrH = Thphr.\ no.\ 52B\ FHS\&G$ 10-11 Theophrasti discipulum] cf. Thphr. no. 18.5 FHS&G et v. 8

3 illis] illos Vindob. 315, Lambinus: illas Facciolatus | qui iam illis fere se c+: qui se iam illis fere S: qui se illis fere M: se om. BPV, Lambinus 7 elaboraret Guelf. 4454, Lambinus

120 Cicero, *De Oratore* 2.23.95 (BT 3.143.4–10 Kumaniecki)

postea quam exstinctis his omnis eorum memoria 174 W sensim obscurata est et evanuit, alia quaedam dicendi molliora ac remissiora genera viguerunt. inde Demochares, quem aiunt sororis filium fuisse Demostheni; tum Phalereus ille Demetrius omnium istorum mea sententia politissimus, 5 aliique horum similes exstiterunt.

1-6 228 T 9b FGrH = Democh. 75 T 4 FGrH; de Demochare cf. **89**

5 politissimus E^{I} et recc. (VOPUR): potentissimus AHE^{4}

121 Cicero, *Brutus* 9.37–8 (BT 4.11.4–16 Malcovati)

Phalereus enim successit eis senibus adulescens 37 175 W

73,176 W

Judgments on Demetrius' Elocution

119 Cicero, *On Duties* 1.1.3 (*OCT* 2.4–16 Winterbottom)

That is why I strongly advise you, my dear Cicero, to study closely not only my speeches, but also these books on philosophy (which indeed are almost equal to the former), for there is more rhetorical power in the former, yet this even and moderate genre of discourse should also be cultivated. Here is something that I do not find any of the Greeks so far has attained: that one and the same person is active in either genre and cultivates both the former genre of judicial speech and this latter genre of calm discussion—unless perhaps Demetrius of Phalerum is to be counted among this number: a subtle disputer, a speaker somewhat lacking in force but none the less charming, in whom you may recognize the pupil of Theophrastus. Now how much progress I have made in either genre, others may judge; certainly I have cultivated both.

120 Cicero, On the Orator 2.23.95 (BT 3.143.4–10 Kumaniecki)

Later, when these men¹ were dead and all memory of them had gradually faded and vanished, certain other kinds flourished which were softer and more relaxed. Thereupon Demochares came to the fore, who they say was the son of a sister of Demosthenes; and then the renowned man from Phalerum, Demetrius, to my mind² the most polished of them all, and others resembling these two.

121 Cicero, *Brutus* 9.37–8 (*BT* 4.11.4–16 Malcovati)

Indeed, when these men¹ were old, they were succeeded by a

¹ His son Marcus Tullius Cicero.

¹ The generation of Demosthenes, Hyperides, Lycurgus, Aeschines, and Dinarchus.

² Antonius is speaking.

212 Demetrius of Phalerum

eruditissimus ille quidem horum omnium, sed non tam armis institutus quam palaestra. itaque delectabat magis Atheniensis quam inflammabat. processerat enim in solem et pulverem non ut e militari tabernaculo, sed ut e 5 Theophrasti doctissumi hominis umbraculis. hic primus inflexit orationem et eam mollem teneramque reddidit et suavis, sicut fuit, videri maluit quam gravis, sed suavitate ea, qua perfunderet animos, non qua perfringeret; [et] tantum ut memoriam concinnitatis suae, non, quemadmodum de Pericle scripsit Eupolis, cum delectatione aculeos etiam relinqueret in animis eorum, a quibus esset auditus.

1-8 228 T 9b FGrH 4-6 processerat—umbraculis] cf. 57.13-16 5-6 sed—umbraculis] Macrob. Sat. 6.4.8 6 Theophrasti] cf. Thphr. no. 18.5 FHS&G et v. 8 11 Eupolis] Eupolis Demi F 102.6-7 PCG K.-A., ubi v. testimonia (V 354)

122 Cicero, *Brutus* 82.285 (BT 4.88.10–19 Malcovati)

"Atticos," inquit, "volo imitari." quos? nec enim est unum genus. nam quid est tam dissimile quam Demosthenes et Lysias, quam idem et Hyperides, quam horum omnium Aeschines? quem igitur imitaris? si aliquem: ceteri ergo Attice non dicebant? si omnis: qui 5 potes, cum sint ipsi dissimillumi inter se? in quo illud etiam quaero, Phalereus ille Demetrius Atticene dixerit. mihi quidem ex illius orationibus redolere ipsae Athenae videntur. at est floridior, ut ita dicam, quam Hyperides, quam Lysias: natura quaedam aut voluntas ita dicendi fuit. 10

1-10 228 T 9b FGrH

Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria* 10.1.33 (OCT 2.574.5–12 Winterbottom)

adde quod M. Tullius ne Thucydiden quidem aut

177 W

³ palaestrae Lambinus 9 et secl. Manutius

³ iidem O 4 si in ras. F ex sed: sed rell.

young man from Phalerum, more learned than any of them, but formed on the training ground (of a philosophic school) rather than on the battlefield (of the courtroom or the assembly). As a result he delighted rather than inflamed the Athenians. For he had come out into the sunlight and dust, not as from a soldier's tent, but from the shady retreat of Theophrastus, a most scholarly man.

It was he (Demetrius) who first changed the style of oratory, making it soft and delicate; he wished to appear agreeable, as indeed he was, rather than grave, that is to say agreeable so as to filter through to the mind rather than to break it into pieces. Hence the memory he left in the minds of those who heard him, was one of elegant harmony, unlike Pericles, who, in the words of Eupolis, with all the delight he brought, left a sting behind.

¹ The generation of Lysias, Demosthenes, Hyperides, Aeschines, Lycurgus, Dinarchus, Demades.

122 Cicero, *Brutus* 82.285 (*BT* 4.88.10–19 Malcovati)

"I want to imitate the Attic (orators)," he (Calvus) says.¹ Which ones? For there is not just one kind. Indeed, what greater difference is there than between Demosthenes and Lysias, these two and Hyperides, all of these and Aeschines? So whom are you going to imitate? If one of them, does that mean the others did not speak Attic; if all of them, how will you be able to do that, seeing that they are so very different from one another? In this connection, let me also ask you this: did Demetrius of Phalerum speak Attic? If you ask me, his speeches seem to be redolent of Athens itself. But he is more flowery, so to speak, than Hyperides, than Lysias: a natural disposition or a preference made him speak like that.

¹ This is a fictitious quotation from C. Licinius Calvus, who practised a severe Atticism.

123 Quintilian, Oratorical Education 10.1.33 (OCT 2.574.5-12 Winterbottom)

Add to this that M. Tullius does not think even Thucydides or

214 Demetrius of Phalerum

Xenophontem utiles oratori putat, quamquam illum "bellicum canere," huius ore "Musas esse locutas" existimet. licet tamen nobis in digressionibus uti uel historico nonnumquam nitore, dum in iis de quibus erit quaestio meminerimus non athletarum toris sed militum lacertis <opus> esse, nec uersicolorem illam qua Demetrius Phalereus dicebatur uti uestem bene ad forensem puluerem facere.

1-8 228 T 9b FGrH 1-2 Thucydiden—Xenophontem] cf. Cic. Or. 9.30-2 3 bellum canere] cf. Cic. Or. 11.39 || Musas esse locutas] cf. Cic. Or. 19.62 7-8 uersicolorem—uestem] cf. Theophrasti iudicium de Bione (Thphr. no. 18.3 FHS&G = Bion T 13 Kindstrand) 8 puluerem] cf. 57.15; 121.5

1 adde quod Regius: audeo quia G: quod dicere fortius audeo quia ed. Col. 1527 3 canere ed. Col. 1527: canerem G || ore ... locutas t: oremus has esse locutis G 7 opus add. ed. Col. 1527

124 Cicero, *Orator* 26.91–2; 94–6 (BT 5.27.6–14; 28.9–29.2 Westman)

uberius est aliud aliquantoque robustius quam hoc humile de quo dictum est, summissius autem quam illud de quo iam dicetur amplissimum. hoc in genere nervorum vel minimum, suavitatis autem est vel plurimum. est enim plenius quam hoc enucleatum, quam autem illud ornatum 5 copiosumque summissius. huic omnia dicendi ornamenta conveniunt plurimumque est in hac orationis forma suavitatis. in qua multi floruerunt apud Graecos, sed Phalereus Demetrius meo iudicio praestitit ceteris; cuius oratio cum sedate placideque liquitur tum illustrant eam 10 quasi stellae quaedam tralata verba atque mutata. ... haec frequentat Phalereus maxime, suntque dulcissima, et quanquam tralatio est apud eum multa, tamen immutationes nusquam crebriores. in idem genus orationis (loquor enim de illa modica ac temperata) verborum cadunt lumina 15 omnia, multa etiam sententiarum; latae eruditaeque disputationes ab eodem explicabuntur et loci communes sine contentione dicentur. quid multa? e philosophorum

178 W

179 W

Xenophon useful to the orator, although it is his estimate that the one "sounds for war" and that with the other's lips "the Muses have spoken." Still, on occasion we may use even the splendor of history in our digressions, provided we bear in mind that in dealing with the issues under consideration, what is needed is not the athlete's brawn but the sinews of a soldier, and that the many-coloured coat which Demetrius of Phalerum was said to have worn, is no good for the dust of the forum.

124 Cicero, *Orator* 26.91–2; 94–6 (*BT* 5.27.6–14; 28.9–29.2 Westman)

There is another kind (of style), richer and with a little more 91 power than the plain one about which I have spoken, but less elevated than the grandest kind about which I am yet to speak. This kind has a minimum of muscle, but a maximum of agreeableness. For it is fuller than the unadorned kind, but less elevated than the ornate and copious kind. All ornaments of speech suit this style of 92 oratory and it has the greatest agreeableness. Among the Greeks, many have distinguished themselves in it, but to my mind Demetrius of Phalerum surpasses the others. His oratory flows gently and quietly, but at the same time it is brightened, as if by a kind of stars, by the 'transferred' and 'mutated' use of words. ...¹ The Phalerean uses these (devices) with the utmost frequency and 94 they are most charming; and though there is a lot of metaphor in him, yet no one has more 'mutations'. This same kind of style—I 95 am still speaking of this moderate and mixed kind—admits all figures of speech, and many of thought too. It also lends itself well for developing wide-ranging and learned disputations and for expressing general ideas without the heat of debate. Why use many words? Orators of this kind are as a rule produced by the

216 **Demetrius of Phalerum**

scholis tales fere evadunt, et nisi coram erit comparatus ille fortior, per se hic quem dico probabitur. est enim quoddam 20 etiam insigne et florens orationis pictum et expolitum genus, in quo omnes verborum, omnes sententiarum illigantur lepores. hoc totum e sophistarum fontibus defluxit in forum, sed spretum a subtilibus, repulsum a gravibus in ea de qua loquor mediocritate consedit.

2 dictum est] 23.76–26.90 3 iam] 28.97–9 6–8 huic—suavitatis] similiter Iulius Victor Rhet. 22,438, p. 92.27–8 Celentano 16–18 latae—dicentur] = Iul. Vict. Rhet. 22,438, p. 92.28–93.1 Cel. 23 - 5hoc—consedit] = Iul. Vict. Rhet. 22,438, p. 93.1-3 Cel.

25

3 nervorum L: verborum $AT^2(al.)Bud.$ 7 orationis] ornamenti A 10 liquitur $A\Sigma\Phi\Psi V$: loquitur $L\Delta\Theta\Xi$ 11 mutata $A\mu\Psi$: immutata Lmulta $L\mu\Psi$: multae A: mutata Φ II mutationes PJ 17 explicantur L 18 dicentur A, Iul. Vict.: dicuntur L 20 quem dico L: quod dico A: quidem R 22 inligantur *FUS*: illigatarum *A* 24 de] demum *Iul. Vict.*: om. BQV

125 Quintilianus, Institutio Oratoria 10.1.80 (OCT 2.583.18–24) Winterbottom)

neque ego in his, de quibus sum locutus, has solas uirtutes, sed has praecipuas puto, nec ceteros parum fuisse magnos. Quin etiam Phalerea illum Demetrium, quamquam is primus inclinasse eloquentiam dicitur, multum ingenii habuisse et facundiae fateor, uel ob hoc memoria dignum, quod ultimus est fere ex Atticis qui dici possit orator, quem tamen in illo medio genere dicendi praefert omnibus Cicero.

1-7 228 T 9b FGrH

2 peto Y 6 quem XY: quae G

De exercitatione dicendi

- 126 Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria* 2.4.41–2 (OCT 1.87.10–17 Winterbottom)
- 41 his fere ueteres facultatem dicendi exercuerunt, adsumpta tamen a dialecticis argumentandi ratione. nam 182 W

180 W

philosophic schools; the type of orator I have in mind here will be appreciated for his own sake, as long as he is not directly compared with the stronger type of orator. For (his) is a certain distinguished and flowery kind of style, embellished and polished, in which all graceful allurements of word and thought are interwoven. Wholly originating from the sophists, its course has been down on to the forum; but spurned by the plain orators and rejected by the grave, it has settled down in the middle position here defined.

¹ Cicero here explains the terms 'transferred' as referring to metaphor, and 'mutated', 'mutations' as referring to metonymy.

125 Quintilian, Oratorical Education 10.1.80 (OCT 2.583.18–24 Winterbottom)

It is not so that in the orators I have spoken about, ¹ I consider the virtues mentioned the only ones, but I do consider them the most important ones. Nor do I think that the other orators have been of little importance; on the contrary, I admit that Demetrius of Phalerum too, even though he is said to have ushered in the decline of eloquence, had a great deal of talent and fluency; yes, he is worth remembering for the very reason that he is just about the last of the Attic school who can be called an orator. After all, in that middle kind of oratory, Cicero prefers him to all the others.

¹ I.e., the canonical ten of whom Quintilian in 76–9 mentions Demosthenes, Aeschines, Hyperides, Lysias and Isocrates.

On rhetorical training

126 Quintilian, Oratorical Education 2.4.41–2 (OCT 1.87.10–17 Winterbottom)

It was generally on these subjects¹ that the ancients practised their skill in speaking; they did so, it is true, by making use of the

fictas ad imitationem fori consiliorumque materias apud Graecos dicere circa Demetrium Phalerea institutum fere constat. an ab ipso id genus exercitationis sit inuentum, ut alio quoque libro sum confessus, parum comperi: sed ne ii quidem qui hoc fortissime adfirmant ullo satis idoneo auctore nituntur.

2-8 228 T 9c FGrH; cf. Philostr. VS 1.481

5 constat] constabat A 6 ii] hi AB

De narratione apud Demetrium

- Anonymus Seguerianus, Ars rhetorica 125–8 (RhGr 1.373.21–374.9 Hammer)
- 184 w 125 'Αλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Νουμηνίου καὶ Νεοκλῆς οὐ μίαν ἀποδεδώκασιν αὐτῆ τάξιν, ἀλλὰ ἄλλοτε ἄλλην.
 - 126 ἐνίστε καὶ πρό τε τοῦ προσιμίου, ὁπόταν ὁ δικαστὴς προηρεθισμένος ἢ καὶ σπεύδη πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα.
 - 127 ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ μετὰ τὰς πίστεις, ὥσπερ Αἰσχίνην τέ σασιν ἐν τῷ κατὰ Τιμάρχου πεποιηκέναι καὶ Δημοσθένην ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μειδίου· τοῦτο δὲ ὰρμόζειν, ἡνίκα ⟨ὰν⟩ ἰσχυρότερον οἱ ἀντίδικοι προβεβληκότες ὧσι τὰς διηγήσεις· προμαλαχθέντα γὰρ τὸν δικαστὴν ταῖς
 - 128 πίστεσι ἡρδίως παραδέχεσθαι τὴν διήγησιν. παρὰ μὲν 10 οὖν Δημητρίφ τῷ Φαληρεῖ φασιν ἐν ἐπιλόγῳ καὶ μετ' ἐπίλογον κεῖσθαι διήγησιν· ἀρμόζειν γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὅταν σφόδρα ὑπὸ τῶν κατηγόρων καταληφθῶσιν οἱ δικασταί.

1–14 Anon. Seguer. Ars rhetorica 125–8 (RhGr 1.442.13–25 Spengel) = Caec. Cal. F *20 (BT 14.4–18 Ofenloch) 6 ἐν τῷ κατὰ Τιμάρχου] Aeschin. Or. 1.9–115 7 ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μειδίου] Dem. Or. 21.77–126

³ τε P: γε Finckh 5 post ότε inser. ἐν ταῖς πίστεσι Graeven 7 ἂν add. Sauppe: om. P 8 προδιαβεβληκότες Graeven 11 ἐπιλόγοις Spengel 13 σφόδρα P: σφοδρότερον Finckh

dialecticians' method of argumentation. For it is generally accepted that (the method of) speaking on fictitious subjects to simulate the courtroom and the political assembly, was introduced among the Greeks around the time of Demetrius of Phalerum. Whether this kind of practice was invented by him personally, I have been unable to ascertain with certainty, as I have acknowledged also in another book.² However that may be, even those who most strongly affirm this, fail to adduce any sufficiently reliable authority.

¹ In chapter 4 Quintilian enumerates a number of basic exercises of rhetorical training, the last of them being "praise and criticism of the laws" (4.33).

² Probably the lost *The causes of the decline of oratory*. See D.A. Russell, Greek Declamation, 1983, 18–19, and K. Heldmann, Antike Theorien über Entwicklung und Verfall der Redekunst, 1982, 99–122.

On the Narration in Demetrius

- **127** Anonymus Seguerianus, *Rhetoric* 125–8 (*RhGr* 1.373.21–374.9 Hammer)
- But Alexander, the son of Numerius, and Neocles¹ have assigned to it (the narration) not one position, but positions varying
- with the circumstances: In some cases even before the procemium, whenever the juror has already been put into an irritated state of mind and is eager to learn the facts of the case.
- Sometimes too after the proof, as we are told Aeschines did in his speech Against Timarchus and Demosthenes in his speech Against Midias. This position is apposite whenever the opponents have already had the chance to deploy their statement of the case rather effectively. For when the juror has first been put in a more friendly frame of mind by the proof, then he accepts the narration all the more readily. In Demetrius of Phalerum the narration is said to be placed in the epilogue and even after the epilogue. For such a procedure is apposite, whenever the accusers have a strong grip on the jurors.

¹ For Alexander see *RE* 1.2, 1458; for Neocles *RE* 16.2, 2417–19.

De Figuris a Demetrio adhibitis

cf. Demetrium, De elocutione 289 (BT 59.4–12 Radermacher) = 12

128 Rutilius Lupus, De figuris 2.16 (41.1–4; 7; 15–17; 19–26 Brooks)

ANTITHETON

hoc pluribus modis fieri solet et habet in omni genere orationis summam utilitatem, quare separatim demonstrandum est de uno quoque genere eius. unum est, cum contrariae res inter se conferuntur. ... hoc idem fieri potest in una persona.... est autem genus huius, quod in eadem sententia priori verbo contrarium quod est, infert, et coniungi solet. ... aliud est, item quod superiori infertur, sed consequenter, ita uti fecit Demetrius Phalereus: Nobis primis dii immortales fruges dederunt; nos, quod soli 10 accepimus, per omnes terras distribuimus. nobis maiores nostri rem publicam reliquerunt; nos etiam socios nostros de servitute eripuimus, itaque et amplissimus nobis honos ab omnibus habetur, et propter huius[modi] honoris dignitatem superbiae nostrae nemo vestigium experitur.

1 ANTITHETON] cf. Auct. ad Her. 4.18.25 et 15.21; Cic. Or. 50.166-7; Quint. Inst. 9.3.81-6; 9.2.101; 9.3.92; Carmen de Figuris 22-4 9-11 Nobis—distribuimus e Rutilio laudatur a Quintiliano Inst. 9.3.84 (OCT 2.531.18-19 Winterbottom), sine mentione Demetrii

2 modis B: moribus AV 6 <aliud> genus Halm 8 coniungi BV: lac. 10 nos quod AV: quod nos B 11 per] in Quint. 12 rem publicam + AB: eripimus V 14 huiusmodi A: 15 superbiae nostrae nemo BV: superbientem nemo A II huius edd. nemo ... experitur] ne ... reperitur Ruhnken, Brooks

129 Rutilius Lupus, *De figuri*s 1.1 (5.1–4; 9–14 Brooks)

PROSAPODOSIS

hoc schema duobus modis fieri et tractari potest. nam sententiis duabus aut pluribus propositis sua cuique ratio vel posterius reddetur, vel statim sub unaquaque sententia subiungetur. quibus posterius ratio subinfertur, huius modi 5

185 W

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On Figures as Used by Demetrius

cp. Demetrius, On Style 289 (BT 59.4–12 Radermacher) = 12

128 Rutilius Lupus, *On Figures* 2.16 (41.1–4; 7; 15–17; 19–26 Brooks)

ANTITHESIS (antitheton)

This (figure) is regularly effected in several ways and is of the greatest use in every kind of speech. For that reason every single type of it must be illustrated separately. One (type) is when contrary items are compared to one another. ... This same type can be applied in the case of one person There is, however, a (sub)type of this (type), which in the same sentence introduces what is contrary to an earlier word and is usually combined with it. ... Another type is that which is added likewise to a former expression, but now as a consequence (of what was expressed before), as did Demetrius of Phalerum: "To us the immortal gods gave the fruits of the earth first; what we alone received, we distributed all over the world. To us our forebears left a state; and it is also we who liberated our allies from servitude. As a result we are held in the highest honor by all, and because of the dignity of this honor no one experiences a trace of our haughtiness."

129 Rutilius Lupus, *On Figures* 1.1 (5.1–4; 9–14 Brooks)

ADDED ACCOUNT (prosapodosis)

This figure can be effected and handled in two ways. That is to say, when two or more propositions have been put forth, the argument for each will either be given later or will be attached immediately to each proposition. The cases where the argument is

¹ Rutilius cites instances from Charisius, Dinarchus and Isidorus respectively.

² I.e, "because we are worthy of this honour no one experiences a trace of arrogance in our behavior"?

222 Demetrius of Phalerum

sunt....cum singulis sententiis statim ratio subiungitur, hoc exemplo. Demetrii Phalerei: Nam quod beneficium tempore et cupienti datur, gratum est; utilitas enim ac voluntas accipiendi honorem dantis facit ampliorem. at quod sero et non desideranti datur, ingratum est; amisso enim tempore

utilitatis cadit accipiendi cupiditas.

1 PROSAPODOSIS] cf. Auct. ad Her. 4.40.52; Quint. Inst. 9.394-5; Carmen de Figuris 112-14

9 dantis facit R, A (corr. ex facis): dantis facis BV: dati facit ed. Basil.: desideranti dari datur C

Genera Causarum

130 Philodemus, *De Rhetorica* IV, *PHerc*. 1007, col. 40a.24–42a.4 (BT 1.221–2 Sudhaus)

περὶ μ[έ]ντο[ι]

25 τοῦ χρησιμεύειν τι τοῖς ἐ[νκω]μιαζομένοις

41α καὶ ψεγομένοις

157 W

ἢ τ[οῖ]ς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις διαμ-

φισβητήσομεν οὐδένα θεωροῦντες ἐπανορθούμενον

5 δι' αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἐπινοοῦντες

οι αυτων ουσ επινοουντες <u>(π)ω</u>ς ἂν δύναιντο. καὶ μὴν ὁ

Δη[μ]ήτριος μετὰ τοῦ σοφιστ[ικο]ῦ γένους τῶν λόγων

προστιθεὶς τῶι δημηγορι-

10 κῶι καὶ δικανικῶι τὸν ἐν-

τευκτικὸν ἄπασιν, εἰ μὲν λαμβάνει τὸν τοῖς πλήθε-

σιν έντευκτικόν καὶ τὸν

κατὰ πρεσβείαν τοῖς δυνάσ-

15 ταις, ἐχέτω μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος · ὃ γὰρ ἐκ τούτων

άγαθὸν γίνεται, μετὰ ταῦ-

τα ἀποψόμεθα · διότι δὲ ταὐτοῦ `καὶ΄ ταῦτα καὶ τὸ

added later, are of the following kind. ... When the argument is attached immediately to the individual propositions, (we get cases like) this example. From Demetrius of Phalerum: "For a service rendered in time and where desired, is welcome; for its usefulness and the will to accept it redound to the greater honor of the benefactor. But a service rendered (too) late and where it is not wanted, is unwelcome; for, the moment of its usefulness having been missed, the desire to accept it vanishes."

¹ Rutilius cites an instance from Demosthenes.

Genres of Speeches

130 Philodemus, *On Rhetoric* IV, *PHerc*. 1007, col. 40a.24–42a.4 (*BT* 1.221–2 Sudhaus)

As for their (the sophistic kind of speeches) being of any use, however, to the persons who are being praised and criticized or to other people, we will call that into question, since we do not observe anybody being corrected through them, nor (can) conceive how they could (have that effect).

Another point is that Demetrius of Phalerum, along with the sophistic (= epideictic) kind of speeches, adds to the deliberative and forensic (kinds) the (kind of speech) serving for encounters with all people. Now, if he takes (this) as the (kind of speech) serving for encounters with the masses and as that (serving for encounters) with rulers in diplomatic missions, let us grant him that for the moment. For later we shall see what good comes from them, though he must be said also to be making a mistake insofar

224 Demetrius of Phalerum

20 σοφιστικὸν εἶδος ἐποίησεν, λεγέσθ`ω κ΄αὶ διαμαρτάνειν. εἰ δὲ τὸν περὶ τῆς ὁμεὶ ι΄λίας λόγον ἴδιον ἡμῶν ὄνταὶ καὶ΄ ποικίλως ἐπιδει-

25 κνύμενον τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀφαιρούμενος τοῖς ἡητορικοῖς ἀνατίθησι, τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολειτικοῖς ἑαυ-

42a τοῦ ποτε γενομένην ἐξουσίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς `σ΄ κέψεις μετάγει τὰς πίστεως δεομένας.

41a 6--**42a** 4 = 228 F 15 FGrH **41a** 28--**42a** 3 cf. **119**.8--13; **57**.13--21; **121**.1--6

40a 24. 26 Spengel **41a** 6-9 Spengel (9: προ[στιθεί]ς) 21 λεγέσθὰ ω κ'αὶ legit Dorandi: λεγέσθαι edd. 22-3 ὁ|μιλίας] ΑΙΜΕΙΛΙΑC Α primo in O correcto pap.: ὁμειλίας = ὁμιλίας Dorandi: ἀληθείας Spengel (ἀλ|ηθείας), Sudhaus

Oratores versus philosophos

131A Philodemus, De Rhetorica, PHerc. 1004, col. 55.3–16 (BT 1.350 Sudhaus)

158 w αρξα . [.]ε[.]να[
δύνασθαι σιωπᾶν, ὡς
5 παρὰ Ξενοκράτει, μονωτάτους καὶ λέγειν
εἰδέναι—ταὐτοῦ γὰρ ἑκάτερον εἶναι—τίνι προσέχοντες [τ]ί πρὸς θεῶν
10 πιστεύσομεν, εἰ μὴ τῶι
Ξενοκράτην οὕτως
ἐπ' 'Αντιπάτρου καὶ τῶν
συνέδρων διαλεχθῆνα[ι, καθά]π[ερ ὁ] Φαληρεὺς

as he attributed both these and the sophistic (epideictic) kind to one and the same person.

But if he takes away from the philosophers the (kind of) speech which concerns the (philosophical) conversation, being particular to us and exhibited in various ways, and assigns it to the rhetoricians, then he transfers the license that once was his in political matters, also into the realm of inquiries that require proof.¹

¹ I.e., he abuses his authority in these matters as much as he did in politics. On this fragment cp. T. Dorandi, *Festschrift W. Kullmann*, 1997, 274-6.

Orators versus Philosophers

131A Philodemus, On Rhetoric, PHerc. 1004, col. 55.3–16 (BT 1.350 Sudhaus)

...(as for the fact that those who have?) the ability to keep silent, as (we find) in Xenocrates, are absolutely the only ones who also know how to speak—for either (capacity) belongs to one and the same person—what proof do we need, what in the name of (the) gods, to believe (that), but the fact that Xenocrates has spoken in this manner before Antipater and his councillors, as the

15

]ωι πο]αλλον

2-16 228 F 48a FGrH = Xenocrates F 37 Isnardi = Diog. Bab. F 103 SVF III 238 von Arnim; cf. W. Crönert, Kolotes und Menedemos, 1906, 67 10-14 cf. 12 11 Ξενοκράτην] cf. 49

1–2 P vacat 2–3 $\dot{\upsilon}\pi$]|άρξα[ι 'A]θ[η]να[ίοις τό τε] Sudhaus: τὸ δὲ τοὑς] | ἀρξα[μ]έ[νους] ἀ[πὸ τοῦ von Arnim, Croenert 9 [τ]ί πρὸς θεῶν Sudhaus: ὧ πρὸς θεῶν von Arnim, Croenert 15–16 [ἱστόρηκεν ἐν τ]ῶι πεl[ρὶ τῆς ῥητορικῆς Sudhaus, von Arnim, Wehrli, Jacoby: σο[φιστὴς ἐν τ]ῶι Ποl[λιτικῶι φησι; μ]ᾶλλον | [δὲ Croenert

131B Philodemus, De Rhetorica, PHerc. 453, fr. 4.1–16 (p. 67 Crönert)

- 159 w 4 νυνεὶ καὶ δημηγοροῦσιν οὐ ἡήτορες μόνον
 ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλόσοφοι, φοβοῦμαι δὲ μὴ καὶ πλείου[ς
 - 5 ἐκείνων οὖτοι. καὶ γὰ[ρ οἴους οἴονται κα[ὶ] ἀρ[ιθμοῦσιν ὡς ῥήτορας, [ἔνιοι φιλοσόφους ἀποφ[αίνουσιν. Ξενοκράτης
 - 10 δ', εἴπερ ἀληθεύει Δημήτριος, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ῥήτ]ωρ εἶναι καὶ Θεοφράστου γν]ώριμος [.]ατε ψεύδετ' αὐτοῦ φ[ανερ]όν,
 - 15 ἐπί τε τοῦ παρ' ἀντιπά-[τρωι συνε]δρίου κατη[γο-

1-16 = Xenocrates F 39 Isnardi; cf. W. Crönert, Kolotes und Menedemos, 1906, 67-8; D. Bassi, RFIC 38 (1910) 344-5 9-16 228 F 48b FGrH 12-13 cf. Thphr. no. 18.5 FHS&G

papyrus deperdita est. superest nil nisi apographum Neapolitanum (N). 1-16 Croenert 1 νυνεὶ] α supra νε scriptum est: νῦν ἀεὶ an νῦν δὲ? Croenert || ΔΗΜΟΓΟΡΟΥ N 12-14 verba corrupta sunt: καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ῥή[τ]ωρ εἶναι $\langle δημηγορῶν$ οὐ κατώρθωσεν \rangle ἐπί τε τοῦ κτλ. e.g. Croenert, qui $\langle ὅτι δὲ ὁ \rangle$ Θεοφράσ[του γν]ώριμος [κατα]ψεύδετ αὐτοῦ φ[ανερ]όν glossam in margine fuisse suspicatur [13] [.]ατε[

Phalerean (says) in his ...1

¹ On Xenocrates' role in the embassy to Antipater see e.g. R. Whitehead, RhM 124 (1981) 238-41; M. Isnardi Parente, RFIC 109 (1981) 137-8; 150-3; and T. Dorandi, 'Senocrate nel giudizio di Demetrio del Falero,' in: Beiträge zur antiken Philosophie. Festschrift für W. Kullmann, 1997, 271-8.

131B Philodemus, On Rhetoric, PHerc. 453, fr. 4.1–16 (p. 67 Crönert)

Actually, nowadays not only orators do speak in public, but philosophers too, and even more of the latter, I'm afraid, than of the former. No wonder, seeing that some people proclaim philosophers such persons as they think to be orators and reckon among the number of these. But Xenocrates, if indeed Demetrius is right, precisely because of his not being an orator and an acquaintance of Theophrastus stated an obvious falsehood about him, and at the meeting of Antipater's council denounc...

¹The text in ll. 12–14 appears to be corrupt. On the vexed question of their interpretation see W. Crönert, *Kolotes und Menedemos*, 1906, 68; A. Ievolo, *Cronache Ercolanesi* 3 (1973) 93–4; T. Dorandi, *Festschrift Kullmann*, 1997, 273–4.

*131C Philodemus, De Rhetorica, PHerc. 224, fr. 12.1–12 (BT 2.173 Sudhaus)

| Τοι | Γους από τους | Γοι | Γους από τους | Γους από | Γους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡλι- | Γους από | Γους α

1-12 = Xenocrates F 38 Isnardi; cf. W. Crönert, Kolotes und Menedemos, 1906, 67; M. Ferrario, Cronache Ercolanesi 13 (1983) 108-9 5-10 cf. Wehrli p. 80 ad F 158-9

ραργιυς deperdita est. superest nil nisi apographum Neapolitanum (N). Ιπροσελόντας τὸν Ξενοκράτη πρὸς τοὺς εἰς τὴν πρεσβεία]ν κεχει-ροτονημένους e.g. Croenert 2 Croenert:]ρισασθαι Ν 3 Croenert 4–9 Sudhaus 9–13 [διεξέρχ]εσθαι καὶ τὸ[ν | λόγον πρὸς τὸ]ν 'Αντίπαι[τρον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, οὐ δε]ξαμέι[νου δὲ ἀποτυχεῖν. οὕ]τως λέι[γεται καὶ Croenert, Wehrli 9]τεσθαι Ν 9–10 τὸ [σιωπᾶν καὶ λέγει]ν Sudhaus

Philodemus, *De Rhetorica*, *PHerc*. 1004, col. 48.1–15 (BT 1.346 Sudhaus)

156 w 48 εἶναι Φίλωνος, ὃ [Δημή-]
τριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν [τ]ῶι
περὶ τῆς ῥητορικῆς ἔταξεν, ἴσως `τὰ πράγματ 'ἄλλα΄. κατ 'αὐτοῦ
5 δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ θἀτέ[ρο]υ
Φίλωνος. ε[ἴ]τε γὰρ ὁ μᾶλλον εἰδὼ[ς τῶν] εἰδότων μὲν . [....].αθ 'ἦττον δ 'ε[ἰδ]ότων ἀφείλ[ε]10 το τὴν ἐργολαβία[ν .±.]
ἀνασκε[υάσ]αὶ .. κοι ...

- *131C Philodemus, On Rhetoric, PHerc. 224, fr. 12.1–12 (BT 2.173 Sudhaus)
 - that ... elected by show of hands (as ambassadors) they had decided that he (Xenocrates) was to be among the first to speak, both because of his age¹ and because of his practice in speaking. But that Xenocrates, as he was wont to argue a thesis thoroughly in the Academy, in the same way ... Antipa(ter) ...
 - ¹ He must have been around 74 years old at the time of the embassy.

- **132** Philodemus, *On Rhetoric*, *PHerc*. 1004, col. 48.1–15 (*BT* 1.346 Sudhaus)
 - arranged, in like manner the facts were different. With respect to him also those concerning the other Philo. For whether the one who knows more took away the contract for the execution of work from those who know ... but know less ... refutation, the orator who has obtained the greatest experience ... shall ...

σει τὸν ὅλως ἄπειρ[ον] σοφὸν [τ]ῶν πολιτικῶν ό τὴν ἄκραν ἐσχηκὼ[ς] 15 ρήτωρ έμπ[ειρί]αν ...

> $1-15\ 228\ F\ 47\ FGrH = Diog.\ Bab.\ F\ 100\ SVF\ III\ 237\ von\ Arnim;\ cf.$ M.G. Cappelluzzo, Cronache Ercolanesi 6 (1976) 73 6 de Philone architectone cf. Phld. Rh. IV, col. 11a (1.192 Sudhaus); Cic. De Or. 1.14.62; Val. Max. 8.12 ext. 2; **54**.4–5

> 1 ο von Arnim, ο Sudhaus || [Δημή]τριος Sudhaus || 4 τὰ πράγματ' άλλα΄. κατ' αὐτοῦ von Arnim: `τὰ πράγματ' ἄλλ[ως]΄ · κατ' αὐτοῦ 5 Sudhaus 8 von Arnim, [πράγμ]αθ' Sudhaus 9–10 von Sudhaus Arnim, ἀφειδ[$\hat{\omega}$ ς] | τὸ Sudhaus 10 τ $\hat{\omega}$ ι] von Arnim (hiatus!) Sudhaus

Elocutio

133 Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Epistula ad Pompeium Geminum 1.15–2.2; 2.6 (CB 5.82.5–83.5; 84.2–13 Aujac)

ἔπειτ' οὐδὲ μόνος οὐδὲ πρῶτος ἐπιφανήσομαι περὶ Πλάτωνος ἐπιχειρήσας τι λέγειν·οὐδ' ἄν τις ἔχοι κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο μέμψασθαί με τὸ μέρος, ὅτι τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ πλείοσιν ἢ δώδεκα γενεαῖς έμαυτοῦ πρεσβύτερον έξετάζειν *** ἐπεβαλόμην ὡς δὴ διὰ τοῦτο δόξης τινὸς τευξόμενος, πολλοὶ γὰρ εύρεθήσονται πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτο πεποιηκότες, οἳ μὲν κατὰ τὸν έκείνου γενόμενοι χρόνον, οἳ δὲ λίαν ὕστερον ἐπακμάσαντες · καὶ γὰρ τὰ δόγματα διέβαλον αὐτοῦ τινες καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐμέμψαντο πρῶτον μὲν ὁ γνησιώτατος αὐτοῦ 10 μαθητής 'Αριστοτέλης, ἔπειτα οἱ περὶ Κηφισόδωρόν τε καὶ Θεόπομπον καὶ Ζωΐλον καὶ Ἱπποδάμαντα καὶ Δημήτριον καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί, οὐ διὰ φθόνον ἢ διὰ φιλαπεχθημοσύνην κωμφδοῦντες, άλλὰ τὴν άλήθειαν 17 έξετάζοντες, τοσούτοις δη και τηλικούτοις άνδράσι 15 παραδείγμασι χρώμενος καὶ παρὰ πάντας τῷ μεγίστῷ Πλάτωνι, οὐδὲν ἡγούμην τῆς φιλοσόφου ἡητορικῆς ποιείν αλλότριον αγαθούς αγαθοίς αντεξετάζων.

περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς προαιρέσεως ἣν ἔσχον ἐν τῇ συγκρίσει τῶν χαρακτήρων, ἱκανῶς ἀπολελόγισμαι καὶ σοί, 20

195 W

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the wise man who is wholly inexperienced in political matters ...

Expression

133 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Letter to Gnaeus Pompeius* 1.15–2.2; 2.6 (*CB* 5.82.5–83.5; 84.2–13 Aujac)

Furthermore, it will be seen that I am by no means the only, nor 15 even the first critic who has ventured to express an opinion about Plato. Nor could anyone find fault with me on the particular ground that I have taken it upon myself *** to examine the most distinguished of philosophers, who is my senior by more than twelve generations, in the hope of winning a name for myself in this way, because many will be found to have done so before me, some of them his contemporaries, others flourishing at a much later time. For after all there are men who have attacked his doctrines and criticized his dialogues: in the first place the man who was most truly his pupil, Aristotle, next Cephisodorus, Theopompus, Zoilus, Hippodamas, Demetrius and their colleagues, and many others, not making fun (of him) out of envy or quarrelsomeness, but in an attempt to arrive at the truth through a process of 17 critical examination. So with the example of so many men of that stature before me, and especially that of the greatest of all, Plato, I thought I was doing nothing alien to the spirit of philosophic rhetoric in comparing good writers with (other) good writers.

Now, as to the principle which I have adopted in comparing the characteristics of style, I have sufficiently accounted for it, even to your satisfaction, my dearest Geminus. Γεμίνε φίλτατε.

λοιπὸν δ' ἐστί μοι καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὧν εἴρηκα λόγων περὶ τἀνδρὸς ἐν τῆ περὶ τῶν ᾿Αττικῶν πραγματεία ρητόρων είπειν. θήσω δε αύταις λέξεσιν, ως έκει γέγραφα.

"ή δὲ δὴ Πλατωνικὴ διάλεκτος βούλεται μὲν εἶναι καὶ αὐτὴ δείγμα ἑκατέρου τῶν χαρακτήρων, τοῦ τε ύψηλοῦ καὶ ἰσχνοῦ, καθάπερ εἴρηταί μοι πρότερον ·

πέφυκε δ' ούχ όμοίως πρὸς άμφοτέρους τοὺς χαρακτῆρας εύτυχής. ... μάλιστα δὲ χειμάζεται περὶ τὴν τροπικὴν 30 φράσιν πολλή μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις, ἄκαιρος δ' ἐν ταῖς μετωνυμίαις, σκληρὰ δὲ καὶ οὐ σώζουσα τὴν ἀναλογίαν ἐν ταῖς μεταφοραῖς γίγνεται · ἀλληγορίας τε περιβάλλεται μακράς καὶ πολλάς, οὔτε μέτρον ἐχούσας ούτε καιρόν· σχήμασί τε ποιητικοῖς ἐσχάτην προσ- 35 βάλλουσιν ἀηδίαν, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς Γοργιείοις άκαίρως καὶ μειρακιωδῶς ἐναβρύνεται. καὶ 'πολὺς ὁ τελέτης ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις παρ' αὐτῷ,' ὡς καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς εἴρηκέ που καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί ' 'οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος'."

9–13 228 F 11a FGrH 11 Κηφισόδωρον] cf. FHG II 85 et 112 FGrH 12 Θεόπομπον] cf. D.H. Pomp. 6 (= 115 F 20a FGrH) || Zωίλον] cf. D.H. Pomp. 1.4; FHG II 85; 71 FGrH 26-40 = D. H. Dem. 5.1; 5-6 (CB 2.54.20-3; 56.1-10 Aujac) [= Dem.] 30-40 228 F 11b FGrH 39-40 οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος] Eur. F 484.1 $N.^2 = F 667$ Mette, Lustrum 12 (1967) 170

1 οὐδὲ] οὐ Herwerden 5 post ἐξετάζειν lac. 17 litt. habent AIV: βουλ-ηθείς, ἐκείνω add. Aujac 21 Γεμίνε Wilamowitz: γε ἡμίν codd. 27 δείγμα] μίγμα Dem. || έκατέρου] έκατέρων Dem. γὰρ] μὲν Dem. 32 μετωνυμίαις Dem.: ἐπωνυμίαις codd. 33 με \rightarrow

Actio

- 134 Philodemus, De Rhetorica IV, PHerc. 1007, col. 15a.20-18a.8 (BT 1.197–200 Sudhaus)
 - ού μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτωι 20 [δη κ]αίπερ ἐν τοῖς δεινο[τά]τοις ὄντι φωνὴν ὀξεῖ[α]ν

170 W

40

25

It now remains for me to refer to the actual remarks I have made on the man (Plato) in my treatise on the Attic Orators. I will quote them *verbatim* as I have written them there:

6

"Plato's style, as much as (that of Isocrates), is intended to be a sample of each of the styles, the sublime and the plain, as I have said before, but its inherent qualities prevent it from being equally successful with regard to both styles. ...² In figurative speech it suffers most: it is abundant in its (use of) appositions, inopportune in its (use of) metonymies, harsh and failing to preserve analogy in its (use of) metaphors; it encompasses many long allegories, which are ill-proportioned and ill-timed; and it revels inappropriately and in a juvenile manner in (the use of) poetical figures, especially the Gorgianic figures, which arouse utter displeasure. Indeed, 'in matters like these there is a lot of the Hierophant in him,' as both Demetrius of Phalerum has said somewhere, and also several others; 'for the story is not mine'."

ταφοραῖς γίγνεται] lac. fere 10 litt. Dem. AIBT: μεταλλαγαῖς in lac. Dem. V 34 μακρὰς καὶ πολλὰς] πολλὰς et lac. fere 8 litt. Dem. 37–8 πολὺς ὁ τελέτης] πολυτέλειά τις Dem. 38 τελετὴς codd.: corr. Usener, cf. E. Fraenkel, Geschichte der griechischen Nomina agentis II, 1912, 202–3 || ἐστὶν om. Dem. 39 πρότερον post συχνοί Dem.

Delivery

134 Philodemus, *On Rhetoric* IV, *PHerc*. 1007, col. 15a.20–18a.8 (*BT* 1.197–200 Sudhaus)

It is nevertheless true that Aeschines criticizes even him (Demosthenes), although he is one of the most forceful (orators), for his shrill and sometimes (too) loud voice. In the Phalerean the

¹ Dionysius quotes from his essay On the Style of Demosthenes, section 5.

² In this part Dionysius first discusses Plato's use of the plain style and then of the sublime style.

Αἰσχίνης ὀνειδίζει, πο[τ]ὲ 162 w <u>δὲ</u> κ[αὶ μ]ακράν· παρὰ δὲ [τῶ]ι

169 W

25 Φαληρεί λέγεται το ύτο ποι-

κίλον μὲν αὐτὸν ὑποκρ[ι]-

16a τὴν γεγονέναι καὶ περιττόν, οὐχ ἁπλοῦν δὲ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν γενναῖον τρόπον, ἀλλ' ε' ί'ς τὸ μαλακώτερον καὶ ταπεινό-

5 τερον ἀποκλεί[νον]τα." οἱ δ' οὖν πολλοὶ τ[ῶν] σοφιστῶν ἐοίκασι[ν, ἐ]ξ ὧ[ν γ]εγράφασιν, ἀθλίως ὑποκεκρίσ[θ]αι· πονηρὸν γὰρ ε[ἰ]ς ὑπόκρι-

10 σιν αί μ[α]κραὶ περίοδοι, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Δημητρίωι κεῖται περὶ τῶ[ν 'Ι]σοκράτους. 'Ιερών[υμο]ς δέ φη-

σιν άναγνῶνα[ι μ]ὲν αὐ-15 τοῦ τοὺς λόγου[ς καλῶς δυνήσεσθαί τιν[α], δη[μ]ηγορῆσαι δὲ τήν τε φ[ω]νὴν

> καὶ τὸν τόνον ἐπαίροντα καὶ ἐν ταύτηι τῆι κατ[α]-

20 σκευῆ[ι μετ]ὰ τ[ῆ] ς ὰρμοττο[ύ]σης ὑποκρίσεως εἰπεῖν οὐ παντελῶς· τὸ γὰρ μέ-[γι]στον καὶ κεινητικώτατον παρεῖσθαι τῶν

25 ὄχλων—ἄψυχον γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνυπάκο[υσ]τ[ο]ν εἶναι

17a τὴν λέξιν καὶ οἱονεὶ πρ[ὸς ἕ]να τόνον πεποιημένην—τὸ δὲ κεκλασμένον καὶ παντο-δα[πὸ]ν καὶ ἐπιτάσει τε καὶ

5 ἀνέσει καὶ ταῖς παθητικαῖς ὑπερθέ[σ]εσιν διειλ[ημ]μένον ἀπο[β]εβληκέναι, τῆι [δ]ὲ λειότητι διὰ παντὸς δουλεύειν. τοιγα[ρο]ῦν ε[ὐ]-

following is read: "He (Demosthenes) was an actor (whose delivery) was full of changes and extravagant, not simple nor in the noble style, but inclining to the feeble and lowly side."

As a matter of fact, most of the sophists appear, from what they have written, to have been dismal in delivery; the reason is that long periods are a bad thing for a good delivery, an observation one may also find in Demetrius about the (periods) of Isocrates.

Hieronymus says that a person will be able to read his (Isocrates) speeches quite nicely, but not at all to declaim them in public with a raising of the volume and pitch of the voice and to speak in that performance (of live oratory) with the appropriate delivery. For what is most important and most likely to move the masses has been neglected (by Isocrates). The reason is that his style is soulless and not suitable for being listened to and as it were made in one pitch, and that it has thrown away the modulation and variety and the diversification through tension and relaxation (of the pitch) and through the emotional climaxes, and is subservient to smoothness throughout. Therefore, it can be read well with subdued voice, but not with lifted voice, [because ... and] because by its (rhetorical) periods it even chokes the speaker,

17a

236 Demetrius of Phalerum

- 10 ἀνάγνωστον μὲν εἶναι [τ]ῆς φων[ῆς] ὑφειμένης, ἐπα[ρ]- θείσης δὲ αν ταῖς πε- ρι[ό]δ[ο]ις καὶ π[ν]είγουσαν τὸ[ν] λέγοντα, καὶ τὴν ὑπόκρι-
- 15 σιν ἀφαιρου[μ]ένου, καὶ σχεδὸν ἐναντίαν τῆι τῶν πολειτικῶν, [τὸ]ν δὲ πολειτευομένων ἐπιστατήσοντα πολειτικὴν δεῖν καὶ δημη-
- 20 γορικὴν κα[τα]κεχύσθαι λέξιν καὶ μὴ τὴν ἐπιδί- φριον καὶ καταψιθυρίζου- σαν τὸν λόγον. ὅμοιον γοῦν εἶναι τῶι δασὺ καὶ
- 25 μέγα περιθέμενον πρόσωπο[ν] παιδίου φωνὴν ἀφιέν[αι καὶ] τὸ τοῖς 'Έλ-
- 18a λ[ησ]ιν συμβουλεύοντα καὶ πλάσμα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν δημηγόρου περιβαλλόμενον ἐπ' ἀ[ναγ]νώσ-
 - 5 του παιδὸς φωνὴν ἀπο-[δεδ]ρακέναι μήτε τόνον [μ]ήτε πάθος μήθ' ὑπόκρισιν δυναμένου φέρειν.

15a 20-4 cf. Aeschin. Or. 2.157; 106; 86; 3.218

15a 24-16a 5 228

F 18b FGrH

16a 2-5 cf. 137.20-3

9-13 228 F 14 FGrH

10

μ[α]κραὶ περίοδοι] cf. Arist. Rh. 3.9 1409b17-32

16a 9-18a 8

Hieronymus F 52a Wehrli; cf. G. Indelli, Cronache Ercolanesi 23 (1993)

88-90; M. Gigante, Beiträge zur antiken Philosophie. Festschrift für W.

Kullmann, 1997, 260-3

16a 13-17a 7 D.H. Isoc. 13.3-4 (CB

1.130.20-131.3 Aujac)

18a 4-8 D.H. Isoc. 13.5 (CB 1.131.3-5 Aujac)

¹⁵a 21 Sudhaus 25 Gros (`το΄ ῦτο) 16a 15 καλῶς Spengel 26 ἀνυπάκο[υσ]τ[ο]ν Scotti 17a 12 in papyro: 1 M (N?) 2 E/O₃₋₄ ΔΙ vel ΛΙ vel N (ΑΙ?) 5? 6 Put videtur || δὲ μ[ή, λί]αν Sudhaus: δὲ μ[ὴ λί]αν, Indelli 13 καὶ $\pi[ν]$ είγουσαν Indelli: κα[τεπ]εί[γ]ουσαν Sudhaus 15 ἀφαιρου[μ]ένου Sudhaus: ἀφαιρου[μ]ένην mavult Spengel cetera Spengel

and, the speaker being deprived of delivery, is just about the opposite of the (style that is required) in political speeches, whereas the person who is going to be a leader in politics has to be steeped in a style suited to politics and public speaking and not in a style which belongs to every day life and ruins the speech by whispering. At least, imagine a person endowing himself with a shaggy and great mask and then emitting the voice of a child: quite comparable is the situation of one (as Isocrates) who in tendering advice to the Greeks and in using the formality in style and the rest of the rhetorical technique of a public speaker, has recourse to the voice of a professional reader, who is not capable of producing the pitch nor the emotion nor the delivery (needed on the occasion).

18a

163 W

135A Plutarchus, *Demosthenes* 9.1–4 (BT 1.2.288.5–7; 288.17–289.4 Ziegler)

1 πόθεν οὖν, φαίη τις ἄν, ὁ Αἰσχίνης πρὸς τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τόλμαν θαυμασιώτατον ἀπεκάλει τὸν ἄνδρα; ...

2 ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῦ Περικλέους τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μὴ πρὸς αὑτὸν ἡγήσασθαι, τὸ δὲ πλάσμα καὶ τὸν σχηματισμὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ μὴ ταχέως μηδὲ περὶ παντὸς ἐκ τοῦ παρισταμένου λέγειν, ὥσπερ ἐκ τούτων μεγάλου γεγονότος, ζηλῶν καὶ μιμούμενος, οὐ πάνυ προσίεσθαι τὴν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ δόξαν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῆ τύχῃ πολλάκις ἑκὼν εἶναι ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν. ἐπεὶ τόλμαν γε καὶ θάρσος

οί λεχθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι τῶν γραφέντων μᾶλλον 10 εἶχον, εἴ τι δεῖ πιστεύειν Ἐρατοσθένει καὶ Δημητρίῳ τῷ Φαληρεῖ καὶ τοῖς κωμικοῖς. ὧν Ἐρατοσθένης μέν φησιν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις πολλαχοῦ γεγονέναι παράβακχον, ὁ δὲ Φαληρεὺς τὸν ἔμμετρον ἐκεῖνον ὅρκον ὀμόσαι ποτὲ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶντα· "μὰ γῆν, μὰ 15 κρήνας, μὰ ποταμούς, μὰ νάματα."

1-2 πρὸς—θαυμασιώτατον] Aeschin. Or. 3.152; cf. Alex. Fig. 19 (RhGr 3.36 Spengel) 9-16 228 F 16 FGrH 9-14 Eratosth. 241 F 32 FGrH 12 τοῖς κωμικοῖς] cf. e.g. Adespota F 149.3 PCG K.-A. 15-16 Antiph. F 288 = Timocl. F 41 PCG K.-A.; cf. [Plu.] Vitae X or. 845D; schol. Ar. Aves 194c = Suda μ 12

135B Photius, *Bibliotheca* 265 493a42-b16 (CB 8.63.19-64.8 Henry)

164 w b ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε δημηγορῶν ἐξέπεσε τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ ἀθυμῶν οἴκαδε ἀπήει, Εὔνομος μὲν αὐτῷ ὁ Θριάσιος ἤδη πρεσβύτερος ὢν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν συνεκύρησε, καὶ μαθὼν τῆς ἀθυμίας τὸ αἴτιον θαρρεῖν τε προὐτρέψατο καὶ ἀνεκτήσατο · καὶ τούτου πλέον 'Ανδρόνικος ὁ ὑποκριτής, τοὺς μὲν λόγους εὖ ἔχειν καὶ ὡς ἄριστα φάμενος, ἐνδεῖν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως. ὁ δὲ παραδίδωσί τε ἑαυτὸν τῷ 'Ανδρονίκῳ, καὶ τὴν τῆς ὑποκρίσεως τέχνην ἐκεῖθεν

² ἀποκαλεῖ N 3 ἄλλα καλὰ N 6 προισταμένου N 7 προσίεσθαι Lambinus: προίεσθαι codd. 14 ὅμοσέ ποτε N 15–16 schol. Ar. μὰ κρήνας, μὰ γῆν, μὰ ποταμούς

135A Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 9.1–4 (*BT* 1.2.288.5–7; 288.17–289.4 Ziegler)

- How then is one to explain, someone might say, the fact that Aeschines called the man (Demosthenes) an absolute marvel in
- respect to the daring in his speeches? ... On the other hand, to all appearances the man, while considering Pericles' other qualities not suited to himself, did admire and imitate his style and bearing, and his avoidance of speaking extempore and without preparation on any subject—these qualities to his mind being the cause of (Pericles') greatness—and he did not seek at all the reputation won in the heat of the moment, nor did he often of his own free
- will stake his influence upon a chance success. Still the speeches he spoke had more daring and boldness than the ones he wrote, if one is to put any faith in Eratosthenes, Demetrius of Phalerum
- and the comic poets. Of these (authorities), Eratosthenes says that in many places in his speeches he was near to ecstasy; and Demetrius says that he once swore before the people as if in a rapture the well-known metrical oath "By the earth, by the springs, by the rivers, by the streams."

¹ Here Plutarch refers to Demosthenes' open opposition against Philip and those who promoted Philip's case, in his political speeches.

135B Photius, *Library* 265 493a42–b16 (*CB* 8.63.19–64.8 Henry)

Once he (Demosthenes) was on his way home, feeling disheartened, because he had been driven out of the theatre while speaking in public. Eunomus of Thria, at that time already an elderly man, met him in the street, and learning the cause of his despondency, urged him to take heart and restored his spirits. Even more so did Andronicus the actor, saying that his words were all right, yes even quite good, but that they were lacking in the element of delivery. He (Demosthenes) placed himself in the hands of Andronicus and from that moment practiced the art of delivery.

έξήσκησε. διόπερ έρομένου ποτέ τινος αὐτὸν τί πρῶτον έν ἡητορικῆ, ἀνεῖπεν ὑπόκρισις καὶ τί δεύτερον; 10 ὑπόκρισις τί δὲ τρίτον; ὑπόκρισις δηλῶν μέγα μέρος εἶναι τῆς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ πειθοῦς τὴν ὑπόκρισιν. ἄμνυ δέ, ὡς ὁ Φαληρεύς φησι, "Μὰ γῆν, μὰ κρήνας, μὰ ποταμούς, μὰ νάματα." καὶ δὴ καί ποτε ὀμόσας τοὺς ὅρκους τούτους τῷ δήμῳ θόρυβον ἐνεποίησεν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀμνύναι 15 τὸν ᾿Ασκληπιόν, χρώμενος τῆ φωνῆ προπαροξυτόνως.

1–16 similiter [Plu.] Vitae X or. 845A–B (5.2.1.31.21–32.11 Mau), sine mentione Demetrii 2 Εὕνομος] cf. Plu. Dem. 6.5 5 'Ανδρόνικος] cf. Plu. Dem. 7.1–5, ubi Satyrus legitur 9–11 τίπρῶτον—ὑπόκρισις] cf. Phld. Rh. IV, PHerc. 1007, col. 15a.3–6 (1.196 Sudhaus) 11–12 verba δηλῶν—ὑπόκρισιν desunt in [Plu.] et Photio attribuenda esse videntur

*135C Papiri della Società Italiana 2.144.1-19 (PSI 2.70-1 Vitelli)

υπότραυ[λος ὢν καὶ τὸν ὧ]μον μαλ[ακῶς κινῶν, γυμνα]ζόμενος [δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Δη]μοσθένη[ς κατώρθωσε. καὶ]

5 ἐν τοῖς δι[καστηρίοις ἤδη]
εὐημέρει[
δὲ τὸν προ[
καὶ Ἐρατοσ[θένης δέ φη]σι τὸν Δη[μοσθένην ὅρκον ὀ]-

10 μωμοκέν[αι ἔμμετρον, παράβακ]χον δ' ἐν π[ολλοῖς γεγονέναι]
καὶ τὸν 'Ασκ[ληπιὸν εἰπεῖν]
ἐπὶ τοῦ βήμ[ατος 'Ασκλήπιον,]
τὴν προσω[ιδίαν κακῶς μετα-]

15 στρέφοντ[α καὶ παραδεικνύ]μενον ὡς ἄ[ρα ἐστὶ λέγον]τος ὀρθῶς· εἶ[ναι γὰρ τὸν]
θέον ἤπιον· [καὶ ἐπὶ τούτωι]
πίπτειν αἰ[κιζόμενον.]

1–19 cf. I. Gallo, Frammenti Biografici da Papiri I, 1975, 141–61; E. Drerup, Demosthenes im Urteile des Altertums, 1923, 48–9; 51–2 1–2 ὑπότραυ[λος—κινῶν] cf. [Plu.] Vitae X or. 844E 12–18 similiter –

That is the reason that, when someone once asked him "What comes first in rhetoric?," he emphatically said, "Delivery." "And what second?" "Delivery." "And what third?" "Delivery." Thus he made it clear that delivery is an important part of (the art of) persuasion in the popular assembly. According to the Phalerean, he used the oath, "By the earth, by the springs, by the rivers, by the streams." In fact, once when he uttered this oath, he caused an uproar among the people, as he also did in swearing by Asclepius, using a pronunciation with the accent on the antepenultimate syllable.

3 πρεσβύτερος A: πρεσβύτης M || συνεκύρησε A: συνεκήρυσσε M 15 τῷ A: τὸ M

*135C Papiri della Società Italiana 2.144.1-19 (PSI 2.70-1 Vitelli)

Having a slight lisp and moving his shoulder in a feeble way, Demosthenes yet by practising corrected these defects. And in the jury courts he had success from that moment on ... and Eratosthenes says that Demosthenes once swore an oath in verse, and that he came near to ecstasy on many occasions and on the speaker's platform called Asklepiós Asklèpios, changing the accentuation in a bad way and demonstrating that after all this pronunciation is correct, for the god is kind (èpios). And that because of that he fell in disgrace.¹

¹The papyrus is much damaged and the supplements are very much exempli gratia and mainly based upon parallel texts.

[Plu.] Vitae X or. 845B-C; cf. Eust. Il. 4.204 (2.733.11-13 van der Valk); Hdn. De prosodia 3.1.123.1-4 Lentz

¹ ὑπότραυ[λος vel ὑποτραυ[λίζων Vitelli: ὢν Gallo 1-3 καὶ—δὲ Drerup 2-3 μαλ[ακι]|ζόμενος Vitelli 3 ταῦτα Gallo: συχνῶς Drerup 3-4 ὁ Δη]|... [ς Vitelli 4 κατώρθωσε Gallo: ἐπηνωρθοῦτο Drerup: οὐ ῥαδίως]| Vitelli || καὶ Drerup 5 δι[καστηρίοις]| Vitelli || ἤδη Gallo: μάλα Drerup 8 Vitelli 9-10 Δη[μοσθένην ... ὀ]|μωμοκέν[αι Vitelli 9 ὄρκον Gallo: ποτὲ Drerup 10 ἔμμετρον Gallo: ἐν μέτρωι Drerup || fin. Vitelli 11 Drerup 12 Vitelli: εἰπεῖν Gallo: ὀμνύοντα Drerup 13 Vitelli 14 προσω[ιδίαν ... μετα-] Vitelli || κακῶς Drerup an καλῶς coll. Eust.? 15 Gallo: ἀποφαινό]|μενον Drerup 16 ἄ[ρα ἐστὶ Drerup: α[ἀτοῦ Vitelli || λέγον]|τος Vitelli 17 Vitelli 18 Gallo: εἶτα αὐτὸν ἐκ]|πίπτειν Drerup (hiatus!) 19 Drerup

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136 Dionysius Halicarnassensis, De Demosthenis dictione 53.1; 3-4 (CB 2.152.6-8; 18-27 Aujac)

> είς ἔτι μοι καταλείπεται λόγος ὁ περὶ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως, ώς κεκόσμηκε την λέξιν άνήρ, άναγκαίας άρετης ούσης περὶ λόγους καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς πολιτικούς....

ταύτης δή φημι της άρετης πάνυ δείν τοίς έναγωνίοις λόγοις, εἰ μέλλουσιν ἕξειν πολὺ τὸ ἀληθινὸν καὶ 5 ἔμψυχον. ἡς πλείστην ώσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πρόνοιαν 4 ἔσχεν οὖτος ὁ ἀνήρ. διττὴν δὲ τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς οὖσαν όρῶν, περὶ ἄμφω τὰ μέρη σφόδρα ἐσπούδασε. καὶ γὰρ τὰ πάθη τὰ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τὰ σχήματα τοῦ σώματος, ὡς κράτιστα έξειν έμελλεν, οὐ μικρῷ πόνῳ κατειργάσατο, 10 καίτοι φύσει πρὸς ταῦτα οὐ πάνυ εὐτυχεῖ χρησάμενος, ώς Δημήτριός τε ὁ Φαληρεύς φησι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ συγγράψαντες.

8–13 228 F 17b FGrH

9 σχήματα (τὰ) Usener-Radermacher II ὡς Sylburg: οἷς codd.

137 Plutarchus, Demosthenes 11.1–3 (BT 1.2.290.7–27 Ziegler)

τοίς δὲ σωματικοίς ἐλαττώμασι τοιαύτην ἐπῆγεν 166 W άσκησιν, ώς ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἱστορεῖ, λέγων αὐτοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀκοῦσαι πρεσβύτου γεγονότος · τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀσάφειαν καὶ τραυλότητα τῆς γλώττης ἐκβιάζεσθαι καὶ διαρθροῦν εἰς τὸ στόμα ψήφους λαμβάνοντα 5 καὶ ῥήσεις ἄμα λέγοντα, τὴν δὲ φωνὴν γυμνάζειν ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τὰ σίμ' ἀναβάσεσι διαλεγόμενον καὶ λόγους τινὰς ἢ στίχους ἄμα τῷ πνεύματι πυκνουμένω προφερόμενον είναι δ' αὐτῷ μέγα κάτοπτρον οἴκοι, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τὰς μελέτας ἱστάμενον ἐξ ἐναντίας 10 περαίνειν.

> λέγεται δ' ἀνθρώπου προσελθόντος αὐτῷ δεομένου συνηγορίας καὶ διεξιόντος ὡς ὑπό του λάβοι πληγάς, "ἀλλὰ σύ γε," φάναι τὸν Δημοσθένην, "τούτων ὧν λέγεις ούδὲν πέπονθας." ἐπιτείναντος δὲ τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ 15 άνθρώπου καὶ βοῶντος "ἐγὼ Δημόσθενες οὐδὲν πέ-

165 W

2

- Dionysius of Halicarnassus, On the Style of Demosthenes 53.1; 3-4 (CB 2.152.6-8; 18-27 Aujac)
 - There remains one topic for me to discuss, delivery—that is to say how the man (Demosthenes) embellished his style—this being an essential excellence of speeches and especially of political ones. ...¹
 - Now I maintain that this excellence is absolutely necessary for speeches in debate, if they are really to have the impact of truthfulness and vivacity. On this as on other subjects this man be-
 - stowed great care. He recognized its double nature and gave himself much trouble over its two parts: he ensured by no little effort that both the modulations of his voice and the postures of his body should be as effective as possible, even though his natural gifts were not entirely favourable to these ends, as is said by Demetrius of Phalerum and all his other biographers.
 - ¹ Dionysius illustrates the importance of a good delivery by pointing out how in the theatre in reading their parts some actors please the audience, but others irritate it because they are thought to ruin the text by their reading.

137 Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 11.1–3 (*BT* 1.2.290.7–27 Ziegler)

- To his physical shortcomings he (Demosthenes) applied the following training, according to the report of Demetrius of Phalerum, who claims to have heard Demosthenes himself in his old age. The lack of clarity and the lisping quality of his voice (Demosthenes) forcably removed and transformed into articulation by taking pebbles into his mouth while reciting speeches. He trained his voice by talking while he was running or climbing slopes and by uttering clauses or verses all in one compressed breath. At home he had a large mirror before which he stood while going through his exercises.
- 2 There is a story about Demosthenes, that he was approached by a man asking him to help him plead in court. When the man explained how he had been beaten by someone, Demosthenes said "But you haven't at all suffered what you say you have suffered." The man raised his voice and screamed "Have I, Demosthenes, not at all suffered?!," and then Demosthenes said

πονθα;" "νὴ Δία" φάναι, "νῦν ἀκούω φωνὴν ἀδικουμένου καὶ πεπονθότος." οὕτως ἄετο μέγα πρὸς πίστιν
εἶναι τὸν τόνον καὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν τῶν λεγόντων. τοῖς
μὲν οὖν πολλοῖς ὑποκρινόμενος ἤρεσκε θαυμαστῶς, οἱ
δὲ χαρίεντες ταπεινὸν ἡγοῦντο καὶ ἀγεννὲς αὐτοῦ τὸ
πλάσμα καὶ μαλακόν, ὧν καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς
ἐστιν.

1–11 228 F 17a FGrH 3–11 cf. [Plu.] Vitae X or. 844D–F 19–23 228 F 18a FGrH 20–3 cf. **134.16a**.2–5

1 ἐπήγαγεν N 3 ἀκούειν Y 4 γὰρ om. Y 6 γυμνάζειν N: γυμνάζεσθαι Y 7 πρὸς τὰ σιμὰ Y: πρὸς τάσιν U: πρὸς στάσιν N \parallel προβάσεσι Y

138 Cicero, De Divinatione 2.46.96 (BT 46.122.22-123.4 Giomini)

quid? illudne dubium est quin multi, cum ita nati essent, ut quaedam contra naturam depravata haberent, restituerentur et corrigerentur ab natura, cum se ipsa revocasset, aut arte atque medicina? ut, quorum linguae sic inhaererent, ut loqui non possent, eae scalpello resectae liberarentur. multi etiam naturae vitium meditatione atque exercitatione sustulerunt, ut Demosthenem scribit Phalereus, cum rho dicere nequiret, exercitatione fecisse, ut planissume diceret. quodsi haec astro ingenerata et tradita essent, nulla res ea mutare posset.

7-10 cf. Plu. Dem. 6.4; Cic. De Or. 1.61.260-1; Quint. Inst. 1.11.5; Val. Max. 8.7 ext. 1

10

3 ab] aut Davies: aut ab Plasberg || ipse (corr. in -sa V)PV | 4 ut] aut (ex ut B) codd. || inhaerent V|| eae Manutius: hae codd. || 8 fecisset BF

Q. Tullius Cicero, Commentariolum Petitionis 2-3 (BT 145.16-24 Shackleton Bailey)

nominis novitatem dicendi gloria maxime sublevabis. semper ea res plurimum dignitatis habuit; non potest qui dignus habetur patronus consularium indignus consulatu

168 W

"Oh yes, now I do hear the voice of someone who has been wronged and suffered." This shows how important for persuasion he considered the pitch (of voice) and delivery to be of those who speak. The majority were wonderfully pleased with his delivery but connoisseurs, Demetrius of Phalerum among them, found his style base, ignoble and feeble.

138 Cicero, *On Divination* 2.46.96 (*BT* 46.122.22–123.4 Giomini)

Furthermore, can there be any doubt that many people, although they were born in such a way as to have certain abnormal defects, were healed and restored by nature, after she had regained herself, or by the art of medicine? For example, people who were tongue-tied to such a degree that they could not speak, had their tongue cut free by the scalpel. Many also have removed a defect of nature by sustained practice and exercise; thus the Phalerean writes that Demosthenes could not pronounce the rho, but through repeated practice learned to pronounce it with perfect clarity. Now, if these defects had been implanted and transmitted by a star, nothing could change them.

139 Q. Tullius Cicero, Brief on the Canvass for the Consulship 2–3 (BT 145.16–24 Shackleton Bailey)

You will take away the novelty of your name best by acquiring fame as a speaker. That sphere of activity has always had the greatest dignity; one who is thought fit to be the advocate of men of consular rank, cannot be held unfit for the consulate. There-

246 Demetrius of Phalerum

putari. quam ob rem quoniam ab hac laude proficisceris et quicquid es ex hoc es, ita paratus ad dicendum venito quasi in singulis causis iudicium de omni ingenio futurum sit. eius facultatis adiumenta, quae tibi scio esse seposita, ut parata ac prompta sint cura, et saepe quae <de> Demosthenis studio et exercitatione scripsit Demetrius recordare.

6 de add. Squarzaficus

Oratores Athenienses

cf. **155–6**; **163–4**

140 *Vita Aeschinis* 3.6–7 (BT 6.112–7 Dilts)

171 W 6 ὅτι μαθητὴς ἐγένετο, ὡς μὲν Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς φησι, Σωκράτους τοῦ φιλοσόφου, εἶθ' ὕστερον Πλάτω-7 νος · ὡς δὲ Καικίλιος καὶ Ἰδομενεὺς καὶ Ἔρμιππος ἱστοροῦσιν, οὐκ ἤκουσε τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν μαθήσεως χάριν. φασὶ γὰρ ὡς ὅτι οὐδὲν τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τοῦ 5 Πλατωνικοῦ σώζει,

1-6228 F 30 FGrH = Caec. Cal. F 126a Ofenloch = Idomeneus 338 F 13 FGrH = Hermipp. F 79 Wehrli (cf.**163-4**)

2 φησι om. i 3 Καικίλιος Wolf: κεκίλιος Sfi 4 ίστοροῦσιν om. i 5 φησὶ i

Fragmenta incertae sedis

- Philodemus, De Rhetorica, PHerc. 1015, fr. 6.1–7 (BT 1.272 Sudhaus)
- 172 w 6 πεπαιγμένας [
 .. ι φάσεις ἔθη[κεν

 τους· δ δὲ Λύσιν [γεγραφέναι Δη[μ]ήτ[ριος ὁ Φαλη5 ρεὺς ἐν τοῖς πε[ρὶ τῆς ῥη-

fore, since this is the commendation that gives you your start and since you are whatever you are as a result of this, you must prepare yourself for speaking as if the verdict on the whole of your talent will depend (on your performance) in every single case. As for the means of enhancing this faculty (of speaking), which I know you have laid by, be sure that you have them prepared and at hand, and remind yourself often of what Demetrius has written about the application and practice of Demosthenes.

¹ Cicero's brother Quintus is addressing his brother in this brief tract on Cicero's canvass for the consulship in 63.

Athenian Orators

cp. **155–6**; **163–4**

- **140** The Life of Aeschines 3.6–7 (BT 6.112–7 Dilts)
 - (Item:) According to Demetrius of Phalerum, he (Aeschines) was a pupil of the philosopher Socrates and then later on of Plato.
 - But according to Caecilius, Idomeneus and Hermippus he did not attend the lectures of these men to learn from them. For, as they say, he does not maintain at all the characteristic Platonic style,....

Fragments of Uncertain Provenience

- 141 Philodemus, On Rhetoric, PHerc. 1015, fr. 6.1–7 (BT 1.272 Sudhaus)
 - ... As for what Demetrius of Phalerum in his treatise On

τορικῆς ...[σιν εἶναι κα [

3–7 228 F 46 FGrH 3 Λύσιν] cf. D.L. 8.7

6-7 σ[υ]ν[γράμμασίν φη]|σιν dubitanter Sudhaus 7 εἶναι legit Dorandi: εἰ καὶ Sudhaus

- Philodemus, De Rhetorica, PHerc. 1015, fr. 23.10–15 (BT 1.279 Sudhaus)
- 205 w 10] καὶ Δημήτριος δια.]νην τοῦτο νομίζων]ν μὴ τοῦτον ἔθηκε τὸν τρό]πον. [..] .αρ μᾶλλον διὰ .αταρ..ων, ὧν ἐστιν ἡ 15 ..[.....]. ὁ ᾿Αριστο.[

190 W

13 . [..] .αρ pap. (γάρ?): [ἀλλ]ὰ Sudhaus 15 ὁ legit Dorandi (ὁ ᾿Αριστοτ[έλης?)

Homerica

- **143** Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 5.4 177C–178A (BT 1.407.24–408.10; 408.22–409.7 Kaibel)
 - C ἐδίδαξεν δ' "Ομηρος καὶ οὺς οὐ δεῖ καλεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτομάτους ἰέναι, πρεπόντως ἐξ ἑνὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων δεικνὺς τὴν τῶν ὁμοίων παρουσίαν·

αὐτόματος δέ οἱ ἦλθε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος. δῆλον γὰρ ὡς οὔτε ἀδελφὸν οὔτε γονέας οὔτε γυναῖκα 5 κλητέον οὔτ' εἴ τις ἰσοτίμως τινὰς τούτοις ἄγει· καὶ γὰρ ἄν ψυχρὸν εἴη καὶ ἄφιλον. καίτοι τινὲς στίχον προσέγραψαν τὴν αἰτίαν προστιθέντες.

ήδεε γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀδελφεὸν ὡς ἐπονεῖτο,

- D ώσπερ δέον εἰπεῖν αἰτίαν δι' ἢν ἀδελφὸς αὐτόματος ἂν 10 ήκοι πρὸς δεῖπνον, πιθανῆς τῆς αἰτίας ἀποδιδομένης....
- Ε 'Αθηνοκλής δ' ὁ Κυζικηνὸς μᾶλλον 'Αριστάρχου κατακούων τῶν 'Ομηρικῶν ἐπῶν εὐπαιδευτότερον ἡμῖν φησι τοῦτον 'Όμηρον καταλιπεῖν, ὡς τῆς ἀνάγκης ὁ Μενέλεως οἰκειοτέρως εἶχεν. Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Φαληρεὺς 15

Rhetoric says that Lysis¹ has written ...

¹ On Lysis of Tarentum see J. Stenzel, RE 14,1 (1928) 64-5 s.v. Lysis 2.

142 Philodemus, *On Rhetoric*, *PHerc*. 1015, fr. 23.10–15 (*BT* 1.279 Sudhaus)

... and Demetrius ... considering this ... not put in that manner

Homerica

- **143** Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 5.4 177C–178A (*BT* 1.407.24–408.10; 408.22–409.7 Kaibel)
 - Homer has also taught us who need not be invited (to a feast), but come of their own accord: by (naming) one of the relatives he quite properly indicates the presence of others in a similar position:

"Of his own accord, Menelaus, good at the battle cry, came to him."

For it is plain that one does not need invite either a brother, or parents, or a wife, or anyone else whom one holds in equal esteem with these; for that would be cold and unfriendly. And yet some authorities have composed an additional verse, (thereby) adding the reason:

"For he knew in his heart how his brother was labouring"

- —as though it were necessary to state the reason why a brother might come to dinner of his own accord, the reason given (above)
- E being convincing as it is. ... Athenocles of Cyzicus, with a better

178A

Ε ἐπαρίστερον τὴν τοῦ στίχου παράληψιν ἐπειπὼν καὶ τῆςποιήσεως ἀλλότριον, τὸν

ἤδεε γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀδελφεὸν ὡς ἐπονεῖτο μικρολογίαν ἐμβάλλειν τοῖς ἤθεσιν. "οἶμαι γάρ," φησίν, "ἕκαστον τῶν χαριέντων ἀνθρώπων ἔχειν καὶ οἰκεῖον 20 καὶ φίλον πρὸς ὃν ἀν ἔλθοι θυσίας οὕσης τὸν καλοῦντα μὴ περιμείνας."

1-22 = Ath. Epit. (2.1.59.12-21 Peppink) [= EC] = Seleucus F 9 M. Müller, De Seleuco Homerico 1891, 11-13; cf. schol. bT ad Hom. Il. 2.405-9; 408; 409 1-11 ἐδίδαξεν—δεῖπνον] = Eust. Il. 2.408 (1.376.25-377.3 van der Valk) 4 Hom. Il. 2.408 9 Hom. Il. 2.409 9-17 ἤδεε—ἀλλότριον] cf. A. Ludwich, Aristarchs Homerische Textkritik, 1884, 216-17 15-16 Δημήτριος—ἐπειπὼν] = Eust. Il. 2.408 (1.377.3-4 van der Valk) 19-22 cf. 1.123-5

1 post καλεῖν hab. ἐν συμποσίφ ΕC, Eust. 2-4 πρεπόντως—Μενέλαος] om. Eust. 2-3 πρεπόντως—παρουσίαν] om. EC || πρεπόντων A: corr. ς 6 ἰσοτίμους Eust. 8 αἰτίαν EC: om. A 11-15 πιθανῆς—εἶχεν om. EC 11 (οὐδὲ) πιθανῆς Wilamowitz 14 τοῦτονκαταλιπεῖν] τοῦτο—καταλιπεῖν (ὑπονοῆσαι) Wilamowitz || ὡς] ὅσφ Kaibel 15 εἶχεν Casaubon: ἔχειν Α 16 ἐπειπὼν] οἶδε Eust.: ὑπειπὼν Dobree 17 ἀλλοτρίαν Kaibel 16-18 καὶ τῆς—ἐπονεῖτο om. EC 19 ἐμβάλλειν Kaibel: ἐμβάλλει ΑΕС 20 ἀνθρώπων om. EC

Scholium in Homeri Odysseam 3.267 (1.143.15-144.6 Dindorf)

191 W

πὰρ γὰρ ἔην καὶ ἀοιδὸς] οὕτω Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς · Μενέλαος ἄμα τῷ 'Οδυσσεῖ ἐλθὼν εἰς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἤρετο περὶ τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι εἰς "Ιλιον στρατείας. τότε δὴ καὶ τὸν ἐνναετηρικὸν τῶν Πυθίων ἀγῶνα ἀγωνοθετεῖ Κρέων, ἐνίκα δὲ Δημόδοκος Λάκων μαθητὴς 5 Αὐτομήδους τοῦ Μυκηναίου, ὸς ἦν πρῶτος δι' ἐπῶν γράψας τὴν 'Αμφιτρύωνος πρὸς Τηλεβόας μάχην καὶ τὴν ἔριν Κιθαιρῶνός τε καὶ 'Ελικῶνος, ἀφ' ὧν δὴ καὶ τὰ ἐν Βοιωτία ὄρη προσαγορεύεται · ἦν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς μαθητὴς Περιμήδους 'Αργείου, ὸς ἐδίδαξεν αὐτόν τε τὸν 10 Μυκηναῖον Αὐτομήδην, καὶ Λικύμνιον τὸν Βουπράσιον καὶ †Σίνιν καὶ† τὸν Δωριέα, καὶ Φαρίδαν τὸν Λάκωνα, καὶ Πρόβολον τὸν Σπαρτιάτην. τότε δὴ Μενέλαος τῷ προνοία τῆς 'Ελένης ἀνέθηκεν ὅρμον 'Αθηνᾳ. τὸν δὲ

understanding of the Homeric epics than Aristarchus, is more instructive when he tells us that Homer passed over Menelaus without mention because he was closer kin (to Agamemnon).³ Demetrius of Phalerum characterized the interpolation of the verse as awkward and foreign to the poet's style, (saying) that the (verse)

"for he knew in his heart how his brother was labouring" imparts meanness to the characters. "For I am of the opinion," he says, "that among courteous people each person has both a relative and a friend, to whom he may go when a sacrificial feast is on without waiting for that person to invite (him)."

- ¹ I.e., in making preparations for the meeting with the chieftains, sending out invitations and arranging for the sacrifice and subsequent feast.
- ² Athenaeus goes on to discuss the absurdity of supposing (a) that Menelaus did not know Agamemnon was preparing a sacrificial feast; or (b) that he did know there was a feast, but came uninvited because he wanted to spare his brother the trouble of inviting him, occupied as he was with the preparations. This last interpretation appears to have been that of Aristarchus.
- ³ I.e., than Nestor, Idomeneus, both Aiantes, Diomedes and Odysseus of whom Homer tells us explicitly that they had been invited by Agamemnon (*Iliad* 2.405–7).

144 Scholium on Homer' *Odyssey* 3.267 (1.143.15–144.6 Dindorf)

"For there was a singer with (her) too": Thus Demetrius of Phalerum: Menelaus went to Delphi together with Odysseus to ask the god about the expedition that was to take place against Troy. At that same time Creon is presiding at the nine-years' competition of the Pythian Games. Demodocus of Laconia won first prize, a pupil of Automedes of Mycenae who was the first to write in epic verses about the battle of Amphitryon against the Teleboae and about the quarrel of Cithaeron and Helicon, from whom, as is well-known, the mountains in Boeotia take their name. He himself too was a pupil of Perimedes of Argos, who had taught both Automedes of Mycenae himself and Licymnius of Buprasium and †Sinis and† the Dorian and Pharidas of Laconia and Probolus of Sparta. At that time then Menelaus dedicated to the Athena Of Forethought the necklace of Helen. Agamemnon took Demo-

252 **Demetrius of Phalerum**

Δημόδοκον είς Μυκήνας λαβών 'Αγαμέμνων ἔταξε τὴν Κλυταιμνήστραν τηρείν. ἐτίμων δὲ λίαν τοὺς ἀδοὺς ὡς διδασκάλους τῶν τε θείων καὶ παλαιῶν ἀνδραγαθημάτων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀργάνων πλέον τὴν λύραν ήγάπων. δηλοί δὲ καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρα τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν τιμήν · οὐ γὰρ φονεύειν, ἀλλ' ἀφορίζειν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε. Τιμόλαος δὲ ἀδελφὸν αὐτόν φησιν εἶναι Φημίου,

1–21 scholium EHMQR; minus plene in T; cf. 146; = Eust. Od. 3.267 $(1.125.27-38 \text{ Stallbaum}) = 228 \text{ F } 32a \text{ FGrH} \qquad 1-16 \text{ [Demodocus]}$ EpGF Davies 94-5 21 = Timolaus F 850 SH Lloyd-Jones & Parsons

1 ούτω-Φαληρεύς] ὁ δὲ Φαληρεύς Δημήτριος ἱστορεῖ ὅτι 10 αὐτόν τε τὸν M: αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν rell.: αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν Eust. ρηθέντα Eust. 11 Βουπράσιον] Βουπρασιέα Eust. 12 Σίνιν *M*: σίπια EQRH: καὶ τὸν om. H: καὶ Σίνιν καὶ τὸν Δωριέα om. Eust. προνοία] Προναία Wehrli 13–14 τῆ προνοία—'Αθηνά] τῆ Προνοία 'Αθηνῷ Eust.: 'Αθηνῷ seclus. Jacoby 16 ἐτίμων δὲ λίαν] ἐτίμα γὰρ λίαν φησὶ Eust. 17-18 παλαιῶν ἀνδραγαθημάτων] ἀνθρωπίνων Eust. 18-19 καὶ τῶν—ἠγάπων om. Eust. 20 ἐκέλευσε] ἀφῆκε Eustath.

145 Stobaeus, Anthologium 3.5.43 (3.269.5–9 Hense)

> έκ τῆς Ἐρμίππου συναγωγῆς τῶν καλῶς ἀναφωνηθέντων έξ 'Ομήρου.

Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς εἰς σωφροσύνην ἔλεγεν ταῦτα ποιείν,

άσπάσιοι λέκτροιο παλαιοῦ θεσμὸν ἵκοντο.

 $1-5\ 228\ F\ 33\ FGrH = Hermipp.\ F\ 92\ Wehrli 5\ Hom.\ Od.\ 23.296;\ cf.$ scholium HMQ ad loc. τοῦτο τέλος τῆς 'Οδυσσείας φησὶν 'Αρίσταρχος καὶ 'Αριστοφάνης

De aoedis

146 Prolegomena Tzetzae ad scholia in Lycophronis Alexandram (2.4.3–9 Scheer)

άσματογράφων δὲ τῶν καὶ ἀοιδῶν γνωρίσματα τὸ ἄσματα καὶ ᾴδὰς γράφειν πρὸς μουσικὴν καὶ φόρμιγγα καὶ βάρβιτον καὶ κιθάραν καὶ πᾶν ὄργανον μουσικὸν άδόμενον, οἷοίπερ ἦσαν ποιηταί, ὡς ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημή-

5

192 W

193 W

docus with him to Mycenae and appointed him to keep an eye on Clytemnestra. They held the singers in high esteem, as teachers of divine matters and of the brave deeds of the men of old, and they loved the lyre more than the other instruments. (The conduct of) Clytemnestra too shows the honour in which he was held. For she ordered him to be banished, not killed. Timolaus, on the other hand, says that he was a brother of Phemius,

145 Stobaeus, *Anthology* 3.5.43 (3.269.5–6 Hense)

From Hermippus' compilation of fine utterances (taken) from Homer:

Demetrius of Phalerum said that (Homer) composed the following line thinking of self-control:

"They (Odysseus and Penelope) then joyfully came to their old-established bed."

On Singers

146 Tzetzes, Introduction to the commentary on the Alexandra of Lycophron (2.43-9 Scheer)

The distinctive characteristic by which writers of songs, (that is) those who (are) also singers, are to be recognized, (is) their writing songs and odes to the accompaniment of music and of the *phorminx*, the *barbitos*, the *kithara* and any musical instrument

¹ Translation R.D. Dawe.

τριος γράφει, Αὐτομήδης καὶ Δημόδοκος καὶ Λαῖρις οἱ Κερκυραῖοι καὶ ὁ Ἰθακήσιος Φήμιος καὶ οἱ λοιποί, οὺς ὁ Φαληρεὺς γράφει·

4-7 228 F 32b FGrH; cf. 144

4 ὡς] οὺς dubitanter Jacoby 5 Λαῖρις] in Χαῖρις corr. γ 2 (Pal. 18) m^{I} 6 post λοιποί class. II add. οὺς ὁ Φαληρεὺς γράφει

Grammatica et Orthographica

147 Victorinus, Ars Grammatica 1.4.95–6 (87.1–8 Mariotti)

repertores litterarum Cadmus ex Phoenice in Graeciam et Euander ad nos transtulerunt A B C D E [h] I K <L> M N O P
[q] R S T <U> litteras numero XVI. postea quasdam a Palamede et alias a Simonide adiectas implesse numerum XXIIII [In comoedia scriptum erat 'ellum': non recte vos fecistis 'illum': est enim 'en illum'.] grammatici, praeterea Demetrius Phalereus, Hermocrates, ex nostris autem Cincius, Fabius, Gellius tradiderunt.

1-8 Cincius Alimentus F 1 GRF Funaioli = F 1 HRR Peter = F 1 Ann. Rom. I 54-5 Chassignet; Fabius Pictor F 1 Funaioli = F 1 Peter = F 1 Ann. Rom. I 16-17 Chassignet; Gellius F 2 Funaioli = F 3 Peter; v. Mariotti p. 221-4 et Chassignet p. 17 6-7 grammatici ... Demetrius] cf. 62.5-6

Scholium ad Tzetzae *Chiliadas* 5.209 (*An. Ox.* 3.365.25–8 Cramer)

'Αραβίας —
Τὸ ''Αραψ γράφε μεθ' ἑνός, μὴ δὲ διπλοῦ τοῦ ῥῶ μοι ·
Τζέτζης ὁ τοῦτο λέγων σοι · μὴ πείθου τοῖς βαναύσοις.
καὶ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος 'Ρητορικῆς φῆ γράφειν.

2-4 228 F 49 FGrH

²⁻³ h del. et L add. Camerarius, q del. et U add. Vossius 5-6 in comoedia—'en illum' del. Liebaldt: 'Vera grammatici verba haec videntur, sed unde huc inrepserint incertum' Mariotti

used to accompany song.¹ Poets of this kind, as Demetrius of Phalerum writes, were Automedes, Demodocus and Laeris, all of Corcyra, Phemius of Ithaca and the rest, whom Demetrius of Phalerum mentions in writing.

¹ The phorminx is the round-based box lyre or 'cradle kithara'; the barbitos the long-armed bowl lyre; and the kithara the square-based box lyre or 'concert kithara'; see M.L. West, Ancient Greek Music, 1992, 50.

Grammar and Orthography

- **147** Victorinus, *Grammar* 1.4.95–6 (87.1–8 Mariotti)
 - The inventors of letters brought over, Cadmus from Phoenicia to Greece and Euander to us, 16 letters: A B C D E [h] I K L M N O P [q] R S T U. Later certain letters were added by Palamedes and others by Simonides; that brought the number up to 24 (letters). [In comedy 'ellum' was written: incorrectly you have made 'illum': for it is 'en illum'.] The grammarians, (and) in addition Demetrius of Phalerum (and) Hermocrates, (and) further from among our own countrymen Cincius, Fabius and Gellius, have handed on this report.

148 Scholium on the *Chiliads* of Tzetzes 5.209 (*An. Ox.* 3.365.25–8 Cramer)

'Of Arabia':

Please write 'Arab' with one, not with a double rho. It is Tzetzes who is saying this to you; do not listen to the vulgar people. Demetrius of Phalerum too in his *Rhetoric* said to write (it this way).¹

¹ The syntax of 1. 4 is quite unclear, but this is what it appears to mean.

Carmina

nullae inscriptiones inveniuntur, sed vide Diogenis Laertii Vitas 5.76 = 1.20-1, quo loco paeanes Demetrii commemorantur

Epistulae

- 149 Tabula inscriptionum ad epistulas spectantium
 - 1 'Επιστολαί α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.104
 - cf. Δημητρίου [Φαληρέως] τύποι ἐπιστολικοί = 161

Miscellanea

- 150 Tabula inscriptionum ad res miscellaneas spectantium
 - 1 'Αρίσταιχμος [ἕν]] Tabula Rhodienis, col. I 2 = 80.2
 - 2 'Αρτοξέρξης α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.80
 - 3 Διονύσιος α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.99
 - 4 Μαίδων α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.77
 - 5 Περὶ τοῦ δοκοῦ α΄] Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae* 5.81 = **1**.94
 - 6 Περὶ τῶν Ἰώνων α΄] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.87
 - 7 Προοίμιον ἱστορικὸν α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 =
 1.103
 - 8 Πτολεμαῖος α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.74
 - 9 Χαλκιδικὸς α'] Diogenes Laertius, Vitae 5.81 = 1.100

Songs

no titles are attested, but see Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.76 = 1.20-1, where paeans composed by Demetrius are mentioned

Letters

- 149 List of Titles Referring to Letters
 - 1 Letters, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.104
 - cp. Demetrius [of Phalerum], Models for Letter-writing = 161

Miscellaneous

- 150 List of Titles Referring to Miscellaneous Subjects
 - 1 Aristaechmus, 1 book] Rhodian Book Catalogue, col. I 2 = **80**.2
 - 2 Artoxerxes, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.80
 - 3 Dionysius, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.99
 - 4 Maedon, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.77
 - 5 On the Beam $\langle in \ the \ Sky \rangle$, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives $5.81 = 1.94^{1}$
 - 6 On the Ionians, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.87
 - 7 An Historical Preface, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.103
 - 8 Ptolemy, 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.74
 - 9 Chalcidian (Speech), 1 book] Diogenes Laertius, Lives 5.81 = 1.100

¹ See **1** note 3

46

IV. INCERTA

de inscriptione Υπέρ ἐλέου vide 81

*151 Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum 27.1194, 28–9

έν] 'Αθάναις

28

[ποτὶ] Δαμάτριον τὸν ῥήτορα μ(νᾶν) [·

29

10

"KYRENE. STELE OF THE Σ YAA, CA. 335 B.C." ed. G. Pugliese Carratelli, ASA 39–40 [N.S. 23–4] (1961–62) 273–80 no. 103 (= SEG 20.716) et ibidem 335–6 no. 207; nos. 103 et 207 collocaverunt C. Dobias-Lalou et A. Laronde, REG 90 (1977) 1–14 (= SEG 27.1194); iterum edidit A. Laronde, Cyrène et la Libye Hellénistique, 1987, 149–50

*152 Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum 25.206

Σφήττιοι Δημ[ήτριον] Φανοστράτου ἀ[νέθηκαν]. 'Αντίγνωτος ἐποίη[σε].

"Demetrius Phalereus a Sphettiis honoratur, a. 315/14^a (?). In colle *Kastro tou Christou*, occidentem versus a vico *Koropi*, nunc in Museo Epigr. (EM n. 13379). Partem maiorem baseos magnae marm., e fragmentis viginti octo recompositam"; ed. A. G. Kalogéropoulou, BCH 93 (1969) 56-71; cf. titulum Eleusine repertum = **162**

*153 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 6.45–6 245A–C (BT 2.47.7–48.4 Kaibel)

"Χαιρεφῶν δέ," φησίν, "ὁ παράσιτος εἰς γάμον ἄκλητος εἰσελθὼν καὶ κατακλιθεὶς ἔσχατος καὶ τῶν γυναικονόμων ἀριθμούντων τοὺς κεκλημένους καὶ κελευόντων αὐτὸν ἀποτρέχειν ὡς παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα ἐπόντος, 'ἀριθμεῖτε δή,' ἔφη, 'πάλιν ἀπ' 5 ἐμοῦ ἀρξάμενοι'." ὅτι δ' ἦν ἔθος τοὺς γυναικονόμους

Β ἐφορᾶν τὰ συμπόσια καὶ ἐξετάζειν τῶν κεκλημένων τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰ ὁ κατὰ νόμον ἐστί, Τιμοκλῆς ἐν Φιλοδικαστῆ φησὶν οὕτως·

άνοίγετ' ἤδη τὰς θύρας, ἵνα πρὸς τὸ φῶς ὦμεν καταφανεῖς μᾶλλον, ἐφοδεύων ἐὰν βούληθ' ὁ γυναικονόμος †λαβεῖν ἀριθμόν†,

IV. UNCERTAIN

on the title On Compassion see 81

*151 Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum 27.1194, 28-9

in Athens to Demetrius the rhetor (the amount) of 100 minae¹

¹ On the stele of the $\sigma \tilde{v} \lambda \alpha$ ("droits de représailles qui ont été réglés") see C. Dobias-Lalou and A. Laronde, Cyrène et la Libye Hellénistique, 1987, 149–61. The identification of "Demetrius the rhetor" with Demetrius of Phalerum is partly based on IG II² 2971 = **162**, which here has been brought in relation with his grandson Demetrius the Younger. The inscription, however, appears to be IVth century (Stephen V. Tracy per litteras) and has for that reason been put under the 'Incerta' and not under the 'Non Recepta'.

*152 Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum 25.206

46

The inhabitants of (the deme) Sphettus¹ have erected (a statue of) Demetrius, son of Phanostratus. Antignotus made (it).²

- ¹ Sphettus is an inland deme of the tribe Acamantis south-east of Athens. This is the only deme document listed by D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica*, 1986, 390.
- ² On this statue base see Habicht Athen 64⁴⁸; Tracy ADT 39¹⁹, and in this volume.

*153 Athenaeus, Sophists at Dinner 6.45-6 245A-C (BT 2.47.7-48.4 Kaibel)

"The parasite Chaerephon," he (Lynceus) says, "joined a wedding party without being invited and lay down at the farthest end (of the table); and when the inspectors of women counted the guests and told him to run off because contrary to the law he was one too many above the (allowed) thirty, he said 'Then count again, starting with me'." That it was customary for the inspectors of women to inspect dinner parties and check whether the number of guests was that allowed by the law Timocles states in the Jury-

of guests was that allowed by the law, Timocles states in the *Jury-Lover* in the following words:²

"Now open the door, so we will be open to the sunlight and bet-

"Now open the door, so we will be open to the sunlight and better to see for everybody, in case the inspector of women, in making his rounds, wants to †get the number† of the members

κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν καινὸν ὅπερ εἴωθε δρᾶν, τῶν ἑστιωμένων. ἔδει δὲ τοὕμπαλιν τὰς τῶν ἀδείπνων ἐξετάζειν οἰκίας.

15

20

Μένανδρος δ' έν Κεκρυφάλω.

παρὰ τοῖς γυναικονόμοις δὲ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς γάμοις διακονοῦντας ἀπογεγράφθαι πυθόμενος πάντας μαγείρους κατὰ νόμον καινόν τινα, ἵνα πυνθάνωνται τοὺς κεκλημένους ἐὰν πλείους τις ὧν ἔξεστιν ἑστιῶν τύχη, ἐλθών ...

καὶ Φιλόχορος δ' ἐν ἑβδόμη 'Ατθίδος "οἱ γυναικονόμοι," φησί, "μετὰ τῶν 'Αρεοπαγιτῶν ἐσκόπουν τὰς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις συνόδους ἔν τε τοῖς γάμοις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις 25 θυσίαις."

1–8 Ath. Epit. (2.1.95.12–17 Peppink) 10–15 Timocl. F 34 PCG K.-A 17–22 Men. F 238 Koerte 23–6 Ath. Epit. (2.1.95.17–19 Peppink); Philoch. 328 F 65 FGrH 23–4 de gynaeconomis cf. Poll. 8.112; Harp. o 47; Hsch. π 2475 Schmidt; Plu. Sol. 21.7; schol. bT in Hom. Il. 10.419–20c; Eust. Il. 10.418–22 (3.102.15 van der Valk); et v. Jacoby FGrH III b Suppl. I 339–40 et II 245–6 ad 328 F 65 24 'Αρεοπαγιτῶν] cf. 7.5

154 Stobaeus, *Anthologium* 3.12.18 (3.446.16–447.2 Hense)

198 w Δημητρίου.

Δημήτριος ἐρωτηθεὶς τί φαῦλον τοῖς ψευδομένοις παρακολουθεῖ, εἶπε "τὸ μηδ' ἂν τάληθῆ λέγωσιν ἔτι πιστεύεσθαι."

1-4 habent MA post eclogam Theophrasti (12,19 Meineke = Thphr. no. 445 FHS&G), Br post eclogam Thaletis (12,14 Meineke), post eclogam Euripidis (12,5 Meineke) Macarius Chrysocephalus, om. S; cf. apophthegma quod Ibyco attribuitur in Gnom. Vat. 743, no. 366; etiam cf. apophthegma ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ὄφελος τοῖς ψευδομένοις ἐκ τοῦ ψεύδους ἔφη· τὸ κὰν ἀληθῆ λέγωσι μὴ πιστεύεσθαι, quod Aesopo attribuitur in Max. 35 (PG 91.900.29-31 Combefis) et Ars. 93.7-9 Walz; Socrati attribuitur in Flor. Mon. 239 (BT 4.287.6-8 Meineke) [=

¹ δέ, φησιν Kaibel: δ' ἔφησεν Α 12†λαβεῖν ἀριθμόν†] λαβεῖν ἀριθμόν Α: τὸν ἀρ. καταλαβεῖν Schweighaeuser, τὸν ἀρ. λαμβάνειν Dobree Adv. II 311: ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν ἀριθμόν Dindorf 21 τύχη Musurus: τύχης Α

of the party, something he is wont to do according to the new law. Instead of doing that he should inspect the houses of those who go without dinner."³

And Menander in the Hair-Net:4

"On hearing that according to some new law the inspectors of women had a list of all cooks who catered at wedding parties, so they could make inquiries about the guests, in case anyone happened to entertain more (guests) than was allowed, he went ..."

And Philochorus too in the seventh book of his *History of Attica* says "the inspectors of women inspected, together with the members of the Areopagus, the companies gathered in the houses on occasions of weddings and sacrificial feasts."

- ¹Chaerephon was a notorious parasite.
- ² The comic poet Timocles was slightly older than Menander.
- ³ The phrase "who go without dinner" appears to hint at a period of food shortage.
- ⁴ The *Hair-Net* is held to belong to Menander's earliest work. Often a more exact dating is based upon the assumed link with Demetrius of Phalerum.
- ⁵ Although Demetrius is not explicitly mentioned, it is generally assumed that he was responsible for the institution of the *gynaikonomoi*, but this "can be neither refuted nor proved" (Jacoby *FGrH* III b Suppl. I 340). Cp. C. Wehrli, "Les gynéconomes," *MH* 19 (1962) 33–8; Habicht *Athen* p. 69 and note 68.

154 Stobaeus, Anthology 3.12.18 (3.446.16-447.2 Hense)

By Demetrius.

Demetrius, when asked what is the bad thing that awaits liars, said: "That they are no longer believed even if they speak the truth."

¹ Cp. Wehrli p. 87 ad F 198, who considers attributing this saying, like Stob. 3.8.20 = 165, to Demetrius the Cynic.

262

155 Vita Isocratis 153–60 (CB 1. XXXVII Mathieu-Brémond)

έβίωσε δ' οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν ὡς ὅτι ἑκατὸν ἔτη, οἱ δὲ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ. ἀπέθανε δ' ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνεία μάχην, λυπηθεὶς διὰ τὴν ἡτταν καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν τὴν γενομένην ἐκεῖσε τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις παρὰ Φιλίππου. ἀποκαρτερήσας δὲ ἐτελεύτησεν, ὡς μὲν Δημήτριός φησιν ἐννέα ἡμέρας, ὡς δὲ 'Αφαρεὺς δεκατέσσαρας. προαναγνοὺς δὲ τούτους τοὺς στίχους ἐτελεύτησεν ἐκ τριῶν δραμάτων Εὐριπίδου ·

1–8 similiter [Plu.] Vitae X or. 837E et 838B (BT 5.2.1.14.17–21 et 15.24–16.1 Mau), sine mentione Demetrii 2–7 228 F 36 FGrH 7 'Αφαρεὺς] cf. Harp. α 274 8 ἐκ τριῶν δραμάτων Εὐριπίδου] F 228 N.² = F 282a Mette, Lustrum 12 (1967) 77; IT 1; F 819 N.² = F 1155f Mette, Lustrum 12 (1967) 280

156 Plutarchus, Demosthenes 14.1–2 (BT 1.2.293.19–294.1 Ziegler)

1 τῶν γοῦν κατ' αὐτὸν ὁ Φωκίων, οὐκ ἐπαινουμένης προϊστάμενος πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ δοκῶν μακεδονίζειν, ὅμως δι' ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην οὐδὲν οὐδαμῆ χείρων ἔδοξεν Ἐφιάλτου καὶ ᾿Αριστείδου καὶ Κίμωνος 2 ἀνὴρ γενέσθαι. Δημοσθένης δ' οὐκ ὢν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις 5 ἀξιόπιστος, ὡς φησιν ὁ Δημήτριος, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ λαμβάνειν παντάπασιν ἀπωχυρωμένος, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν παρὰ Φιλίππου καὶ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἀνάλωτος ὤν, τῷ δ' ἄνωθεν ἐκ Σούσων καὶ Ἐκβατάνων ἐπιβατὸς χρυσίφ γεγονὼς καὶ κατακεκλυσμένος, ἐπαινέσαι μὲν ἦν 10 ἱκανώτατος τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλά, μιμήσασθαι δ' οὐχ ὁμοίως.

1–12 cf. quae de facultate loquendi Phocionis Demosthenisque Theophrastus dixisse legitur in 10.2-3 (= no.706 FHS&G) 5–12 228 F 19 FGrH

³ Χαιρώνδου Mathieu: Χαρώνδου codd. 5-6 ἀποκαρτερήσας— ἡμέρας] ἐξελθεῖν δὲ τοῦ βίου οἱ μὲν ἐναταῖόν φασι σίτων ἀποσχόμενον, οἱ δὲ τεταρταῖον [Plu.]

¹ κατ' αὐτὸν Lambinus: μετ' αὐτὸν codd. 12 ὁμοίως Reiske: ὅμοιος codd.

155 The Life of Isocrates 152–60 (CB 1.XXXVII Mathieu-Brémond)

He (Isocrates) lived one hundred years according to some, ninety-eight according to others. He died during the archonship of Chaerondas¹ after the battle at Chaeronea, distressed on account of the disastrous defeat which the Athenians suffered there at the hands of Philip. He died after starving himself for nine days according to Demetrius, for fourteen according to Aphareus.² Before dying, he read aloud the following verses from three of Euripides' plays.³

156 Plutarch, Demosthenes 14.1–2 (BT 1.2.293.19–294.1 Ziegler)

- Of his (Demosthenes) contemporaries in any case Phocion, championing a political line that did not meet with approval and being considered favourable to Macedonia, was nevertheless held to be a man not at all inferior in any way to Ephialtes and Aristides and Cimon for his courage and just disposition. Demosthenes on the other hand was not reliable when under arms, as Demetrius says, nor altogether immune to taking money: although he could not be corrupted by gold from Philip or from Macedonia, he was accessible to that coming down from Susa and Ecbatana and overwhelmed by it. He was highly effective in praising the noble deeds of previous generations, but less so in imitating them.
 - ¹ On this fragment see Wehrli p. 89 on F 206 and cp. 140; 155; 163-4; the last two are included by Mejer in the fragments of Demetrius of Magnesia.

¹ I.e., 338/7 B.C.

² Son of Hippias but considered as the son of Isocrates.

³The opening verses of the Archelaus, Iphigenia Taurica and Phrixus. On this fragment see Wehrli p. 89 on F 206 and cp. 140; 156; 163-4; the last two are included by Mejer in the fragments of Demetrius of Magnesia.

V. SPURIA

157 Scholium AD in Homeri *Iliadem* 6.35 (ed. Janus Lascaris [D])

207 W

Πήδασον αἰπεινήν. ἀχιλλεὺς ὑπὸ τὸν Τρωϊκὸν πόλεμον πορθῶν τὰς περιοίκους τῆς Ἰλίου πόλεις, ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν πάλαι μὲν Μονηνίαν, νῦν δὲ Πήδασον καλουμένην, βουλόμενος ὁμοῦ ταῖς ἄλλαις καὶ ταύτην ἑλεῖν. ἀπογνόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰς τὸ τέλος πολιορκίαν διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα τοῦ τόπου καὶ μέλλοντος ἤδη ἀναχωρεῖν, φασὶν εἴσω τῶν τειχῶν οὖσαν παρθένον ἐρασθῆναι τοῦ ᾿Αχιλλέως, καὶ λαβοῦσαν μῆλον, ἐπιγράψαι καὶ αὐτὸ ρῖψαι εἰς μέσον τῶν ᾿Αχαιῶν · ἦν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ γεγραμμένα ·

"μὴ σπεῦδ', 'Αχιλλεῦ, πρὶν Μονηνίαν ἕλης·

ὕδωρ γὰρ οὐκ ἔνεστι· διψῶσι κακῶς."

τὸν δὲ 'Αχιλλέα ἐπιμείναντα οὕτω λαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν τῆ

τοῦ ὕδατος σπάνει. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Δημητρίω καὶ
'Ησιόδω.

10

1–14 = schol. A in Il. 6.35 (1.228.1–10 Dindorf) = Ars. 134.22–136.4 Walz; cf. schol. in Il. 6.35a (2.136.74–7 Erbse) et J.U. Powell, CR 27 (1913) 130–1; 228 F 50 FGrH = Demetrius Scepsius F 32 Gaede = Hes. F 214 Merkelbach-West; cf. Eust. Il. 6.35 (2.237.7–13 van der Valk) et fabulam a Parthenio 21.2 relatam = A.R. F 12 CA Powell

158 Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica* s.v. Κορόπη (1.375.8–376.4 Meineke)

208 W

Κορόπη, πόλις Θεσσαλίας. ὁ πολίτης Κοροπαῖος. Νίκανδρος ἐν Θηριακοῖς "ἡ ἐν ᾿Απόλλων | μαντείας Κοροπαῖος ἐθήκατο καὶ θέμιν ἀνδρῶν." οἱ δὲ ὑπομνηματίσαντες αὐτὸν Θέων καὶ Πλούταρχος καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς φασι "Νίκανδρος 'Οροπαῖος καὶ Κοροπαῖος ΄ ᾿Απόλλων. ἀγνοεῖ δ' ὅτι ᾿Αμφιαράου ἱερόν, ⟨οὐκ⟩

³ Μονηνίαν A: Μονηίαν D (iterum 10) 4 βουλόμενος D: om. A $\|$ όμοῦ—ταύτην $\|$ αὐτὴν σὺν ταῖς ἄλλαις A 5 ἀπογνόντος D: ταπεινοῦντος A: ἀποροῦντος Ars. 5–6 τὴν ὀχυρότητα DA: τὰ ἰσχυρότατα Ars. 6 καὶ om. A $\|$ ἤδη om. A 7 οὖσαν D: οὖσάν τινα A 8 post μῆλον add. εἰς τοῦτο A $\|$ αὐτὸ om. A 9 γεγραμμένα D: -μένον A 10 ἕλης D, Ars., Eust.: ἑλεῖν A 11 κακῶς om. Ars. 13–14 ἡ ἱστορία— Ἡσιόδ ϕ om. Ars.

V. SPURIOUS

157 Scholium AD on Homer's *Iliad* 6.35 (ed. Janus Lascaris [D])

"high and steep Pedasus." Achilles, while ravaging the cities lying around Ilium during the Trojan War, reached what in ancient times was called Monenia, but now Pedasus, because he wanted to take that (city) too together with the others. When he had despaired of carrying the siege through because of the strength of the place and already was about to withdraw, they say that there was a maiden within the walls who fell in love with Achilles; and that she took an apple, wrote on it and threw it in the midst of the Achaeans. On it was written:

"Don't hurry off, Achilles, without having captured Monenia; For there is no water within; the people suffer terribly from thirst."

(They say) that Achilles stayed on and thus took the city thanks to the lack of water. The story (is to be found) in Demetrius and in Hesiod.¹

¹ On this scholium see Montanari in this volume, who attributes it to Demetrius of Scepsis.

158 Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica* under *Korope* (1.375.8–376.4 Meineke)

Corope: a city in Thessaly. Its citizen (is called a) Coropaean. Nicander in his (poem) *Poisonous Animals*: "in which¹ Coropaean Apollo established oracles and law for men." His commentators, Theon and Plutarch and Demetrius of Phalerum, say: "Nicander (uses) 'Oropaean' and 'Coropaean' Apollo. He does not know that the precinct belongs to Amphiaraus, <not> to

'Απόλλωνός ἐστι. λέγεται δὲ κατ' ἔλλειψιν τοῦ ῖ Κοροπαΐος [Κορόπη]. Κορόπη δὲ Θεσσαλίας πόλις. βέλτιον δ' ὑπονοεῖν ὅτι ἡμάρτηται. καὶ γράφεται 'Οροπαΐος. 'Ορόπη γὰρ πόλις Εὐβοίας, ὅπου 'Απόλλωνος 10 διασημότατον ίερόν."

 $1-11 = Theon \ F \ 3 \ Guhl$ $2-7 = Plu. \ F \ 14.2 \ Bernardakis = F \ 115$ Sandbach

2 Nic. Ther. 613-14 || ἡ ἐν Nic.: αἰὲν codd. || μαντοσύνας Nic. Φαληρεύς] 'scribendum videtur ὁ Χλωρός' Meineke; ὁ Χλωρός Wyttenbach et Sandbach in Plu.; de Demetrio Chloro cf. schol. in Nic. Ther. 377–8a; 585a 6 δ ' δ ti Salmasius: δ è tò codd. Il oùk add. Salmasius 7 τοῦ κ 'Οροπαῖος Holsten 8 Κορόπη seclus. Holsten

Δημητρίου Φαληρέως Περὶ ἑρμηνείας. vide Demetrii 159 Phalerii qui dicitur De Elocutione Libellus ed. L. Radermacher, Lipsiae 1901

cf. Ammonius, In Aristotelis de interpretatione commentarius 204 W (4.5.4.29–31 Busse); Phoebammonis *Prolegomena in Hermo*genis Περὶ Ἰδεῶν (RhGr 14.377.12–13 Rabe); Ioannis Siculi Prolegomena in Hermogenis Περί Ίδεῶν (RhGr 14.410.12 Rabe); Theophylactus, Archiepiscopus Bulgariae, Epist. 34 ad Theophylactum Romanum (PG 126.556D.45–7 de Rubeis) ὁ δὲ Φαληρεύς καὶ περὶ ἑρμηνείας λόγου συνταγμάτιον σπουδαῖον ἐξήνεγκεν

160 Scholium ad Tzetzae *Allegorias* Iliadis 16, 371–3 (*An. Ox.* 3.384.29–30 Cramer)

τοῦ δὲ μικροῦ τὴν Ἰλιον Πάτροκλος μεθ' Ἑλλήνων Ι 204 W τῷ τότε ἂν ἐπόρθησε, λόγος ἐστὶν ἀστεῖος Ι καὶ χάρις έπιτάφιος είς Πάτροκλον 'Ομήρου] Γραφην 'Ομήρου άστείαν · ὁ Φαληρεὺς δὲ χάριν ὀνομάζει τὸ ἀστεῖον.

> 1-4 = Anecdota Graeca 2.618 Matranga 1-2 τοῦ—ἐπόρθησε] cf. Hom. Il 16.698-9

³ γραφήν] σημείωσαι την γραφήν An. Gr. Matranga

Apollo. It is spelled 'Coropaean' without the i. But Corope (is) a city in Thessaly. It is better to conjecture that a mistake has been made. There is also a reading Oropaean. For Orope is a city on Euboea, where there is a highly renowned precinct of Apollo."²

159 Demetrius [of Phalerum], On Style. See Demetrii Phalerii qui dicitur De Elocutione Libellus ed. L. Radermacher, Lipsiae 1901

Cp. Ammonius, Commentary on Aristoteles' On interpretation (4.5.4.29–31 Busse); Phoebammon, Introduction to On Stylistic Types of Hermogenes (RhGr 14.377.12–13 Rabe); John of Sicily, Introduction to On Stylistic Types of Hermogenes (RhGr 14.410.12 Rabe); Theophylact, Archbishop of Bulgaria, Letter 34 To Theophylact of Rome (PG 126.556D.45–7 de Rubeis) "the Phalerean has also brought out an excellent little treatise on prose composition."

160 Scholium on Tzetzes' Allegories on Book 16 of the Iliad, 371–3 (An. Ox. 3.384.29–30 Cramer)

"At that moment Patroclus would almost have destroyed Ilium with the Hellenes, the expression is elegant, and it is a funereal homage of Homer towards Patroclus": (Understand this to mean that) the writing of Homer is elegant. The Phalerean calls (the quality of) elegance 'charm'.

¹ I.e., in a "young tamarisk bush," mentioned by Nicander in l. 612.

²On this confused note see U. von Wilamowitz, *Euripides Herakles* I 191¹⁴¹, and for Demetrius Chlorus see Montanari in this volume.

¹ In his Allegories of the Iliad, Tzetzes is commenting upon Iliad 16.698–701: Patroclus would have taken Troy if Apollo had not taken a stand upon the walls of Troy and pushed him back thrice.

² On this fragment see Wehrli p. 89; F. Solmsen, *Hermes* 66 (1931) 263²; and W. Rhys Roberts, *Demetrius on Style*, 1902, 61.

268 Demetrius of Phalerum

161 Δημητρίου [Φαληρέως] τύποι ἐπιστολικοί. vide Demetrii et Libanii qui feruntur ΤΥΠΟΙ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΙΚΟΙ et ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΙ203w ΜΑΙΟΙ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΕΣ ed. V. Weichert, Lipsiae 1910, p. 1–
12. de auctore vide Weichert p. xvii–xviii.

161 Demetrius [of Phalerum], Models for letter-writing. See Demetrii et Libanii qui feruntur ΤΥΠΟΙ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΙΚΟΙ et ΕΠΙΣΤΟ-ΛΙΜΑΙΟΙ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΕΣ ed. V. Weichert, Lipsiae 1910, p. 1–12. On the author see Weichert p. xvii–xviii.

VI. NON RECEPTA

de inscriptionibus Δικανικών Λόγων Συναγωγή et Σοφιστικών vel Ἐπιδεικτικών Λόγων Συναγωγή, ab Wehrli p. 37 positis, vide 118

162 Inscriptiones Graecae II² 2971

20 W

in fronte:

'Αθηναίων οἱ τεταγμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι καὶ Πανάκτωι καὶ ἐπὶ Φυλῆι τὸν στρατηγὸν Δημήτριον Φανοστράτου Φαληρέα στεφανώσαντες Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρει ἀνέθηκαν.

in coronis (a-d,e-h/i-k/l-m):

a	b	С	d	
'Αθηναίων	'Αθηναίων	'Αθηναίων	ἡ βουλὴ	5
οί τεταγμέ-	οί τεταγμέ-	οί τετα-	ό δῆμος	
νοι Έλευσίνι	νοι ἐμ Πα-	γμένοι	ίππαρχή-	
	νάκτωι	έπὶ Φυλεῖ	σαντα	
			_	
\boldsymbol{e}	f	g	h	
ή βουλή	ή βουλή	ή βουλή		
ό δῆμος	ὁ δ ῆμος	ό δῆμος	οί ίππεῖς	10
στρατη-	στρατη-	στρατη-	ίππαρ-	
γήσαντα	γήσαντα	γήσαντα	χήσαντα.	

infra coronas f-g: Σωσίθεος 'Αθηναῖος ἐποίησε.

in latere sinistro:		in latere		
i	\boldsymbol{k}	1	m	
Παναθή-	'Ελευσί-	Δήλια	Έρμαῖα	13
ναια τὰ μεγο	ά- νιοι	ἄρματ ι	ἄρματι .	
λα ἄρματι				15

'Eleusine prope Propylaea Appii Claudii, nunc in museo Eleusinio (Catal. n. 665). Basis quadrata marmoris Pentelici a. 0,70, l. 0,67, cr. 0,47. ...' || Dittenberger Syll.³ 319; de titulo cf. Jacoby FGrH II b 644 ad 228 T 3; S. Dow & A.H. Travis, Hesperia 12 (1943) 145–9; Chr. Habicht Athen 64; et imprimis S.V. Tracy, Boeotia Antiqua 4 (1994) 154–7; ADT 43–5; 171–4 et in hoc volumine, qui Demetrium in hoc titulo

VI. NOT ACCEPTED

on the titles Collection of Forensic Speeches and Collection of Sophistical or Epideictic Speeches, posited by Wehrli p. 37, see 118

162 Inscriptiones Graecae II² 2971

[front] The Athenians stationed by the people in Eleusis and Panactum and on (the hill of) Phyle have awarded crowns to the commander of the army Demetrius, son of Phanostratus, of Phalerum and have dedicated (them) to Demeter and Kore.

[front, in crowns a-d, e-h] (a) The Athenians stationed in Eleusis; (b) The Athenians stationed in Panactum; (c) The Athenians stationed on (the hill of) Phyle; (d) The Council (and) the People (have crowned Demetrius²) as commander of the cavalry; (e) The Council (and) the People as commander of the army; (f) The Council (and) the People as commander of the army; (g) The Council (and) the People as commander of the army; (h) The cavalry as commander of the cavalry.

[beneath crowns f-g] Made by Sositheus of Athens.

[left side, in crowns i-k] (i) The Great Panathenaic Games (for a victory) with the chariot; (k) The Eleusinians;

[right side, in crowns l-m] (1) The Games of Delian Apollo (for a victory) with the chariot; (m) The Games of Hermes (for a victory) with the chariot.³

- ¹ In crowns a-c the formula "have crowned Demetrius" is to be understood; cp. ll. 1-4.
- ² In crowns *e*—*h* the formula "have crowned Demetrius" is also to be understood.
- ³ According to S.V. Tracy (in this volume) the lettering on this base is the work of a letter-cutter who was active in the period c. 270–c. 235 B.C. As a result the Demetrius mentioned here cannot be Demetrius of Phalerum, but must be his grandson of the same name, who was appointed 'lawgiver' by Antigonus Gonatas c. 260; cp. 7; 16B note 2; 151 note 1.

laudatum non Demetrium Phalereum sed nepotem eius esse demonstravit; de hoc Demetrio (PA 3453; APF 3455 p. 109), cf. IG II² 1285, 1–12 cum SEG 3.123 et Hesperia 47 (1978) no. 8 p. 280–2 = SEG 28.63 et v. **7**

272 Demetrius of Phalerum

Harpocration, Lexicon in decem oratores Atticos s.v. Ἰσαῖος (no. 21, 137.10–13 Keaney)

206 W

Ἰσαῖος · εἷς μέν ἐστι τῶν δέκα ἡητόρων οὖτος, μαθητὴς δὲ Ἰσοκράτους, διδάσκαλος δὲ Δημοσθένους, ᾿Αθηναῖος τὸ γένος, καθά φησιν 'Έρμιππος ἐν β΄ Περὶ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῶν. Δημήτριος δ' ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ὁμωνύμων ποιητῶν Χαλκιδέα φησὶν αὐτὸν εἶναι.

5

1-5 = Phot. s.v. Ἰσαῖος $(1.98.25-7 \ Porson) = Suda s.v.$ Ἰσαῖος $(no.620, LG 1.2.667.15-17 \ Adler = Demetr. Magn. F 6b Mejer) = Hermipp. F 70 Wehrli = Demetr. Magn. F 6a Mejer$

1 μέν om. pl 3 ἕρμιππος Val: εὔριπος pl 3-4 καθά—μαθητῶν om. Phot., Suda 4 μαθητῶν Val: μαθημάτων pl 4-5 Δημήτριος—ποιητῶν] Δημήτριος δὲ Phot., Suda

164 Plutarchus, *Demosthenes* 28.3 (BT 1.2.308.16–22 Ziegler)

τοῦτον δὲ Θούριον ὄντα τῷ γένει λόγος ἔχει τραγῷ-δίας ὑποκρίνεσθαί ποτε, καὶ τὸν Αἰγινήτην Πῶλον τὸν ὑπερβαλόντα τῷ τέχνῃ πάντας ἐκείνου γεγονέναι μαθητὴν ἱστοροῦσιν. Ἔρμιππος δὲ τὸν ᾿Αρχίαν ἐν τοῖς Λακρίτου τοῦ ῥήτορος μαθηταῖς ἀναγράφει · Δημήτριος δὲ τῆς ᾿Αναξιμένους διατριβῆς μετεσχηκέναι φησὶν αὐτόν.

4-7 228 F 20 FGrH = Demetr. Magn. F 5 Mejer; cf. [Plu.] Vitae X or. 846F; sequitur 28.4 = 13B 4-5 Hermipp. F 76 Wehrli

2 υποκρίνασθαι Reiske 3 υπερβάλλοντα N II πάντες N

- *165 Stobaeus, Anthologium 3.8.20 (3.345.10–346.11 Hense) (F 9 Ostermann), quod Demetrio Phalereo attribuerunt E. Norden, Die antike Kunstprosa, I 128; 130–1 et F. Blass, Die Attische Beredsamkeit, III.2 346; Demetrio Cynico E. Bayer DPhA 117–20; cf. RE 9, 2582–3 s.v. Ioannes Stobaios
- *166 Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.21.1–3 (F 34 Ostermann) = Demetrius Judaeus 722 F 1 FGrH
- *167 Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.29.1–3 (F 35 Ostermann) = Demetrius Judaeus 722 F 2 FGrH

134 W

Harpocration, Lexicon on the Ten Attic Orators under Isaeus (no. 21, 137.10–13 Keaney)

Isaeus: This man is one of the Ten Orators, a pupil of Isocrates, and teacher of Demosthenes; Athenian by birth, as Hermippus says in book 2 of *On the pupils of Isocrates*, although Demetrius in his *On poets of the same name* says that he was from Chalcis.¹

¹ On this fragment see Wehrli p. 89 on F 206 and cp. 140; 155–6; 164. It is included by Mejer in the fragments of Demetrius of Magnesia.

164 Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 28.3 (*BT* 1.2.308.16–22 Ziegler)

Of this man (Archias), being a Thurian by birth, it is said that he had once been an actor in tragedies; and it is reported that Polus of Aegina, who surpassed all in the art of acting, had been his pupil. Hermippus lists Archias among the students of the orator Lacritus, Demetrius says that he was a participant in the courses of Anaximenes.¹

¹ On this fragment see Wehrli p. 89 on F 206 and cp. 140; 155–6; 163. It is included by Mejer in the fragments of Demetrius of Magnesia.

- *165 Stobaeus, Anthology 3.8.20 (3.345.10-346.11 Hense) (F 9 Ostermann), which E. Norden, Die antike Kunstprosa, I 128; 130-1 and F. Blass, Die Attische Beredsamkeit, III.2 346, attributed to Demetrius of Phalerum; E. Bayer DPhA 117-20 to Demetrius the Cynic; cp. RE 9, 2582-3 s.v. Ioannes Stobaios
- *166 Eusebius, Preparation for the Gospel 9.21.1–3 (F 34 Ostermann) = Demetrius Judaeus 722 F 1 FGrH
- *167 Eusebius, Preparation for the Gospel 9.29.1–3 (F 35 Ostermann) = Demetrius Judaeus 722 F 2 FGrH

274 Demetrius of Phalerum

- *168 Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.29.15 (F 36 Ostermann) = Demetrius Judaeus 722 F 4 FGrH
- *169 Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromata 1.21.141.1 (F 37 Ostermann) = Demetrius Judaeus 722 F 6 FGrH
- *170 Scholium In Homeri *Iliadem* 6.414 (F 58 Ostermann) = Demetrius Ixion F 7 = 48 Staesche
- *171 Scholium In Homeri *Iliadem* 14.221 (F 59 Ostermann) = Demetrius Ixion F 15 Staesche
- *172 Scholium In Homeri *Iliadem* 13.5 (F 60 Ostermann) = Demetrius Ixion F 14 Staesche
- *173 Scholium In Homeri *Iliadem* 16.411 (F 61 Ostermann) = Demetrius Ixion F 18 Staesche
- *174 Eustathius, Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem vol. 3.785 ad 15.680 (F 64 Ostermann) = Demetrius Gonypesos (cf. Montanari in hoc volumine)
- *175 Scholium In Homeri *Odysseam* 18.17 (F 69 Ostermann) = Demetrius Ixion F 25 Staesche
- *176 Alexis ap. Athenaeum, *Deipnosophistae*, 13.92 610E = F 99 PCG K.-A.

- *168 Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.29.15 (F 36 Ostermann) = Demetrius Judaeus 722 F 4 FGrH
- *169 Clement of Alexandria, *Patchwork* 1.21.141.1 (F 37 Ostermann) = Demetrius Judaeus 722 F 6 FGrH
- *170 Scholium on Homer's *Iliad* 6.414 (F 58 Ostermann) = Demetrius Ixion F 7 = 48 Staesche
- *171 Scholium on Homer's *Iliad* 14.221 (F 59 Ostermann) = Demetrius Ixion F 15 Staesche
- *172 Scholium on Homer's *Iliad* 13.5 (F 60 Ostermann) = Demetrius Ixion F 14 Staesche
- *173 Scholium on Homer's *Iliad* 16.411 (F 61 Ostermann) = Demetrius Ixion F 18 Staesche
- *174 Eustathius, Commentary on Homer's Iliad vol. 3.785 on 15.680 (F 64 Ostermann) = Demetrius Gonypesos (cp. Montanari in this volume)
- *175 Scholium on Homer's *Odyssey* 18.17 (F 69 Ostermann) = Demetrius Ixion F 25 Staesche
- *176 Alexis in Athenaeus, Sophists at Dinner, 13.92 610E = F 99 PCG K.-A.

CONCORDANCES

The following tables relate the texts collected in this editon (SOD) to that of Wehrli, Basel/Stuttgart 1968, and the partial editions of Jacoby (FGrH), Leiden 1926, Müller (FHG), Paris 1878, and Ostermann, Fulda 1857.

1 F. Wehrli, Die Schule des Aristoteles. Texte und Kommentar, Band 4: Demetrios von Phaleron, zweite, ergänzte und verbesserte Auflage, Basel/Stuttgart 1968

Wehrli	SOD	Wehrli	SOD	Wehrli	SOD	Wehrli	SOD
1	14	24	1	49	29	72	57
2	1	25	44	50	30	73	119
2b	4	26	18	51	29	74	1
3	2	27	19	52	1	75	2
4	9A-B	28	1	53	25C	76	80
5	10	29	54	54	25B	77	1
6	1	30	50	55	19	78	1
7	12	31	51	56	31	79	83
8	45	32	52	57	1	80	1
9	43A	33	55A-B	58a	33B	81	82A-B
10	15A	34	43A-B	58b	33A	82	85
11	15B	35	43A	59	32	83	84
12	16B	36	2	60	37	84	1
13	16A	37	5	61	35	85	1
14	17	38	1	62	36	86	1
15	20A	39	6	63	38	87	1
16	56	40	3	64	39	88	1
17	20B;	41	11	65	40	89	1; 113
	58A	42	47	66	59	90	1
18	23A	43	48	67	58B ; app.	91	107
19	23D	44	49		59; 61–3	92	106
20	162	45	21	68	1	93	108
21	24A	46	22	69	1	94	105
22	25A	47	26	70	2	95	102
23	24C	48	28	71	42	96	104

Wehrli	SOD	Wehrli	SOD	Wehrli	SOD	Wehrli	SOD
97	103	122VI	76	150	94	179	124
98	109	122VII	77	150I	111	180	125
99	86	123	90	150II	112	181	1
100	1	124	91	151	103	182	126
101	80	125	1	152	92	183	12
102	1	126	1	153	109	184	127
103	1	127	1	154	155	185	128
104	1	128	1	155	114	186	129
105	1	129	1	156	132	187	1
106	1	130	1	157	130	188	62
107	1	131	19	158	131 A	189	1
108	1	132	89	159	131B	190	143
109	1	133	156	160	1	191	144
110	80	134	13B; 164	161	137	192	146
111	1	135	53	162	134	193	145
112	1	136	115	163	135 A	194	1
113	1	137	110	164	135B	195	133
114	87	138a	116A	165	136	196	147
115	1	138b	116B	166	137	197	1
116	1	139	100	167	139	198	154
117	1; 72	140	99	168	138	199	59
118	1	141a	96A	169	134	200	1
119	1	141b	96B	170	133	201	65
120	1	142	52	171	140	202	66
121	1	143	98	172	141	203	161
122	1	144	97	173	148	204	159; 160
122I	70 A	145	95	174	120	205	142
122II	71	146	101	175	121	206	163
122III	73	147	117	176	119	207	157
122IV	74	148	1	177	122	208	158
122V	75	149	93	178	123		
SOD	Wehrli	SOD	Wehrli	SOD	Wehrli	SOD	Wehrli
1	1; 6; 24;		130; 148;	9A	4	17	14
	28; 38;		160; 181;	9B	4	18	26
	52; 57;		187; 189;	10	5	19	27; 55;
	68-9; 74;		194; 197;	11	41		131
	77-8; 80;		200	12	7; 183	20A	15
	84–90;	2	3; 36; 70;	13B	134	20B	17
	100;		75	14	1	21	45
	102-9;	3	40	15A	10	22	46
	111–3;	4	2b	15B	11	23A	18
	115–22;	5	37	16A	13	23D	19
	125-9;	6	39	16B	12	24A	21
	,					-	

SOD	Wehrli	SOD	Wehrli	SOD	Wehrli	SOD	Wehrli
24C	23	57	72	96B	141b	129	186
25A	22	58A	17	97	144	130	157
25B	54	58B	67	98	143	131A	158
25C	53	59	66; 199	99	140	131B	159
26	47	61	67	100	139	132	156
28	48	62	67; 188	101	146	133	170; 195
29	49; 51	63	67	102	95	134	162; 169
30	50	65	201	103	97; 151	135 A	163
31	56	66	202	104	96	135B	164
32	59	70A	122I	105	94	136	165
33A	58b	71	122II	106	92	137	161; 166
33B	58a	72	117	107	91	138	168
35	61	73	122III	108	93	139	167
36	62	74	122IV	109	98; 153	140	171
37	60	75	122V	110	137	141	172
38	63	76	122VI	111	150I	142	205
39	64	77	122VII	112	1 50II	143	190
40	65	80	76; 101;	113	89	144	191
42	71		110	114	1551	145	193
43A	9; 34; 35	82A	81	115	136	146	192
43B	34	82B	81	116A	1 38a	147	196
44	25	83	7 9	116B	138b	148	171
45	8	84	83	117	147	154	198
47	42	85	82	119	73; 176	155	154
48	43	86	99	120	174	156	133
49	44	87	114	121	175	157	207
50	30	89	132	122	177	158	208
51	31	90	123	123	178	159	204
52	32; 142	91	124	124	179	160	204
53	135	92	152	125	180	161	203
54	29	93	149	126	182	162	20
55A	33	94	150	127	184	163	206
55B	33	95	145	128	185	164	134
56	16	96A	141a				

F. Jacoby, Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker (FGrH), Zweiter Teil: Zeitgeschichte, B Spezialgeschichten, Autobiographien und Memoiren. Zeittafeln, Leiden 1926, no. 228 p. 956–73

FGrH	SOD	FGrH	SOD	FGrH	SOD	FGrH	SOD
T 1	1; 2	T 3b	19	T 3f	44	T 5	32
T 2a	43A	T 3c	17	T 4a	30	T 6a	35
T 2b	15A	T 3d	20A-B	T 4b	26; 28-9;	T 6b	38
T 3a	16A	T 3e	56		31	T 6c	40

FGrH	SOD	FGrH	SOD	FGrH	SOD	FGrH	SOD
T 6d	1	F7	98	F 21	113	F 37	84
T 6e	58B; 59;	F8	110	F 22	117	F 38	85
	62 ; 63	F 9	53	F 23	114	F 39	82A-B
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3 C. Müller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, Vol. II, Paris 1878, p. 362-9

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4 Chr. Ostermann, De Demetrii Phalerei vita, rebus gestis et scriptorum reliquiis, Part. II, Programm Fulda 1857, p. 21–48

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2

Diogenes Laertius' Life of Demetrius of Phalerum

Michael G. Sollenberger

Book Five of Diogenes Laertius' Lives of the Philosophers is dedicated to the Peripatetics, and within that Book eleven sections, about five and a half pages in the OCT edition, contain the "Life of Demetrius" (5.75–85). In piecing together the remains of Demetrius, Wehrli broke up Diogenes' continuous narrative into twenty pieces (or fifty-two, if we count book titles) and scattered them throughout his collection of 208 fragments. The result is that we do not receive a proper impression of the entire "Life of Demetrius," since in the case of each fragment, the context is missing and the intelligibility of individual statements is often decreased. The new edition of the fragments of Demetrius by Peter Stork, Jan van Ophuijsen, and Tiziano Dorandi provides us with a continuous text and translation of Diogenes Laertius' "Life of Demetrius," a great service to those of us seeking to understand something about the life of the man.

Although my personal liking for Diogenes remains undiminished—he is a sensational storyteller—I want to acknowledge straightway that

¹ F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles. Texte und Kommentar.* Bd. 4: Demetrios von Phaleron, 2nd ed. (Basel, 1967).

in the case of Demetrius, Diogenes did not do his job as well as he might have done. He cites five sources in all: Demetrius of Magnesia (5.75 = 1 SOD), Didymus (5.76 = 1), Favorinus (5.76 = 1), Hermippus (5.78 = 1 = Hermippus, fr. 58W.), and Heraclides' *Epitome* of Sotion (5.78 = fr. 69W., 1 = Sotion, fr. 18W.). Other ancient authors, however, cite many other sources for information concerning Demetrius, some of whom Diogenes used as sources in the lives of other philosophers, e.g., Duris (Athen. 12.542B = 43A-B; DL 1.22, 1.38, 1.74, 1.82, 1.89, 1.119, and 2.19), Philochorus (Dion. Hal., *De Dinarcho* 3 = 31; DL 2.44 and 9.55), and Sosicrates (Athen. 10.422C = 33A; DL 1.38, 1.49, 1.67, 1.75, 1.95, 1.101, 1.106, 1.107, 2.84, 6.13, 6.80, and 8.8). We should wonder why Diogenes did not consult these authors for Demetrius' biography, or if he did consult them, why he did not cite them as his sources.

The contents of Demetrius' life are a jumble and important events and details are omitted. In a few places Diogenes is wrong in his chronology and in others he seems to have become confused about which Demetrius he was writing (I shall give details later). To be sure, Demetrius was a very common name, so that Demetrius of Phalerum was often confused with Demetrius Poliorcetes, e.g., the clear confusions of the two in the second part of the entry in the *Suda*, s.v. "Demetrius," $\Delta 429$, Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 9.9, and also Phaedrus, *Fab.* 5.1 = **44**. Moreover, the catalogue of writings which Diogenes gives for Demetrius is not complete. Clearly this is not one of Diogenes' better "lives," for, as we can see, he has neglected—whether deliberately or inadvertently is difficult to say—information which seems to have been readily available to him.

The inclusion of Demetrius in Diogenes' book on the Peripatetics is interesting. The first four lives in Book Five are those of the successive heads of the school: Aristotle, Theophrastus, Strato, and Lyco. But then come Demetrius of Phalerum and Heraclides of Pontus, neither of whom headed the school. While Diogenes' survey of the Peripatos covers only the first century of the existence of the school, it is still problematic why he chose these particular six men. Lyco is the latest of these (d. 225 BC), so it may be that Diogenes' sources left off with him. This is, of course, Moraux's thesis, which claims that Diogenes' main source for the lives of the Peripatetic scholarchs (at least) was the history of the Peripatos composed by Lyco's immediate successor as head of the Ly-

² See K. Gaiser, "Menander und der Peripatos," Antike und Abendland 13 (1967) 9, and Wehrli 1967, 51.

ceum, Ariston of Ceos.³ Demetrius and Heraclides may have been included for any number of reasons: not only was each well known in his own right, but also each represents and illustrates the openness of the Peripatos and the widely different types which the school attracted, accepted, and accommodated. Demetrius was an Athenian citizen, something of a rarity in view of the strongly cosmopolitan student body at the Lyceum. He was Cassander's regent in Athens for ten years (317–307 BC), and was renowned as an eminent man of practical and political affairs, reportedly a prolific author on a wide range of topics, and an outstanding orator—according to Quintilian, "just about the last of the Attic school who can be called an orator" (*Inst. orat.* 10.1.80 = 125). In contrast, Heraclides was a strange and enigmatic man. He was wealthy and had a solemn and stately bearing which was surely made more conspicuous because he was obese and wore elegant clothes. In fact, Diogenes tells us his pomposity made him the target of popular derision. (D.L. 5.86). By two anecdotes we are led to believe that Heraclides was something of a prankster and very vain (D.L. 5.90-1). Perhaps, too, none of Diogenes' sources dealt with the other Peripatetics, or did not have much to say about them; then again, it may have been that Diogenes liked these two to the exclusion of any others. Whatever the case, it appears to have been a matter of personal, deliberate choice that Diogenes included these six men's lives.

Laertian lives feature regular and recurring standard *topoi* or rubrics, i.e., categories of information.⁴ We should keep in mind that these categories are the systematic means and the basic building blocks by which Diogenes attempts to characterize his subjects; they recur again and again in varying order throughout the ten books of his work. He moves very quickly in his descriptions; he does not intend to go to great length in detailing his subjects' achievements, but seeks only to provide a brief sketch of characteristic traits. Fifteen is the total number of categories, but not all categories are featured in all lives. For obvious reasons, Diogenes tells us nothing in the Life of Demetrius about his foundation of a school or succession to the leadership of a school nor about any of his students or disciples. We might have hoped for information concerning some doctrines embraced by Demetrius or the inclusion of personal

³ P. Moraux, Les listes anciennes des ouvrages d'Aristote (Louvain, 1951) 243ff.

⁴ See M.G. Sollenberger, "The Lives of the Peripatetics: An Analysis of the Contents and Structure of Diogenes Laertius' 'Vitae Philosophorum' Book V," *ANRW* 36.6 (Berlin, 1992) 3800-4.

documents, but none is given. There is, however, information in each of the eleven other categories. I shall proceed according to these categories as they are found in the *vita Demetrii*.

1. Origin: Homeland and Genealogy: Demetrius hailed from the old port of Athens, Phalerum, which lies to the east of the Piraeus. Demetrius' father Phanostratus was not noble, as Diogenes reports (5.75 = 1), but that is basically all we learn from him about Demetrius' family and ancestry.

Diogenes is the only ancient author to state that Demetrius was not well-born (οὐκ εὐγενης ὤν), which he follows with a citation from Favorinus that he was from the house of Conon, i.e., a slave in the household of Conon (5.75 = 1). This is likely to be an anecdotal report, for it does not fit well into the other categories of information which Diogenes includes. Aelian, however, also tells us about the servitude of Demetrius, making him the servant not only of Conon, but also of his son (presumably), Timotheus (*Var. hist.* 12.43 = 4). If by Conon is meant the famous Athenian admiral and general who defeated the Spartans at Cnidos in 394 BC and completed the rebuilding of the Long Walls at Athens, Demetrius could not have been his slave, for this Conon died in 392 BC.⁵ Conon's son Timotheus, however, a pupil of Isocrates, could have been Demetrius' master, for he died in 354 BC, but this involves some chronological considerations which shall be discussed later. While Demetrius may not have been of noble birth, he was probably not a slave; Beloch called this "alberner Klatsch." Some contend that Demetrius' father Phanostratus was or had been a slave, basing their claim on the article on Demetrius in the Suda ($\Delta 429 = 2$). There the alternate name Phanos is recorded for Phanostratus, which was believed to have been a slave name. 8 Wehrli, however, demonstrated that Phanos was in fact a free person's name, since it occurs as the name of a free man in Aristophanes' Wasps (1220) and in Demosthenes' speech Against Aphobus (29.23 and 58).9 While there may have been slaves in Demetrius' background, perhaps in the household of Conon and

⁵ See K. Swoboda, "Konon (3)," *RE* 11 (1922) 1319–32.

⁶ See Isoc. 15.9.101 and K. Klee, "Timotheos (3)," RE 6.2 (1937) 1324–30.

⁷ K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 2nd ed., vol. 4.1 (Leipzig, 1925) 104 n. 2, who adds "derartiges richtet sich selbst."

⁸ See H. Herter, "Phanos (2)," *RE* 19 (1938) 1785.

⁹ Wehrli 1967, 49.

Timotheus, and there seems to be no reason to reject the statement in Athenaeus that he was raised in relative poverty (12.543F = 43); as a youth Demetrius only ate bowls of olives of every sort and island cheese), the statement that he himself was a slave appears to be a piece of vindictive gossip which circulated about him either during the years that he was Cassander's regent in Athens, or, perhaps more likely, was ingloriously attributed to Demetrius' reputation after his fall from power.

In speaking further about Demetrius' somewhat obscure family, we should not forget his older brother Himeraeus. Although Diogenes makes no mention of him, Himeraeus may provide some clue about the political stance and aspirations of his younger brother. Himeraeus was an anti-Macedonian whom Antipater had executed together with Hyperides and Aristonicus after the Lamian War in October of 322 BC. In contrast, Demetrius seems to have been more tolerant of Macedonian hegemony; and later in 322 he was chosen by the Athenians as part of a peace-seeking legation to Antipater, together with Demades, Phocion, and Xenocrates ([Dem.], *De elocutione* 2.89 = 12; cf. Diodorus 18.18.2–3, Plut., *Vita Phocionis* 27 and DL 4.9). Interestingly, in an Arabic life of Aristotle by Ibn Abi Usaibi'a, we read that the Athenians, wishing to show their appreciation to Aristotle for all the benefits which he had brought to their city, met to draft an inscription for a dedicatory column, but it was opposed by Himeraeus. 12

¹⁰ Himeraeus is called Demetrius' brother by Carystius ap. Athen. 12.543E = 43 and by Arrian, *Diadochoi* 13 ap. Photium, *Bibl*. 92 69b34–40 = 13A. That he was Demetrius' older brother seems clear from the fact that he played a part in the prosecution and conviction of Harpalus according to Ps.-Plut., *Vitae decem oratorum* (Demosthenes) 846C. See also H. Berve and K. Schoch, "Himeraios," *RE* Suppl. 4 (1924) 743.

¹¹ See Plut., Vita Demosthenis 28.2–3, Athen. 12.542e and Ps.-Lucian, Demosthenis encomium 31. In his article "The Peripatetic School and Demetrius of Phalerum's Reforms in Athens," Ancient World 15 (1987) 87–98, J. Williams has some interesting comments about Himeraeus and his political leanings which may have influenced his brother Demetrius. See further E. Bayer, Demetrius Phalereus der Athener, Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 36 (Tübingen, 1942; rpt. Darmstadt, 1969) 129–32 and W.S. Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens: An Historical Essay (London, 1911; rpt. New York, 1969) 20 and 38.

¹² See I. Düring, Aristotle in the Ancient Biographical Tradition, Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 5 (Göteborg, 1957) 215–16 and 233–4.

- 2. Education: Theophrastus is the only person who is ever named as Demetrius' teacher—and this is the case in the writings of all ancient authors, not only Diogenes Laertius. Some scholars have conjectured that Aristotle himself may have taught Demetrius, but none of our ancient sources explicitly says this.¹³
- 3. Physical Appearance/Personal Qualities: Diogenes' descriptions of philosophers in general are notoriously brief, often caricatures. ¹⁴ Diogenes' descriptions usually stress some prominent or noteworthy feature of the person's appearance. His brief descriptions of Demetrius concern his eyes: $X\alpha\rho\iota\tau\sigma\beta\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\rho\sigma\varsigma$, "having eyelids of the Graces," and "the shining or radiant one," $\Lambda\alpha\mu\pi\iota\tau\dot{\omega}$, after the notorious courtesan of that name (5.76 = 1, corroborated by Athen. 13.593F and Suda Δ 429 = 2 and 5). We should note, however, how the mention of Demetrius' nicknames due to his eyes leads Diogenes by simple association ¹⁵ to a third item concerning his eyes—that he is reported to have lost his sight in Alexandria and regained it from the god Sarapis of Canopus and thus wrote paeans to this deity that were still being sung in Diogenes' (?) day (5.76 = 1). ¹⁶

What Duris is reported by Athenaeus to have said about Demetrius (12.542B-E = 43A-B), his lack of restraint, his excessiveness, his sordid love affairs, dyeing his hair, applying rouge and other oils, finds no counterpart in Diogenes' account. Realizing that Duris was a hostile source on Demetrius, we have to question the validity of his report. Once again we must consider possible confusion with another

¹³ For example, E.A. Parsons, *The Alexandrian Library* (New York, 1953) 215–16, E.M. and N. Wood, *Class Ideology and Ancient Political Theory* (Oxford, 1978) 250 and Williams 1987, 88, all suggest that Demetrius studied also under Aristotle.

¹⁴ O. Gigon made the suggestion that they were portraits drawn from their representation on the comic stage, "Interpretationen zu den antiken Aristoteles-Viten," MH 15 (1958) 151.

¹⁵ Such chaining together of similar notions is a method which Diogenes often uses. See P. Moraux, "La composition de la 'Vie d'Aristote' chez Diogène Laërce," RÉG 68 (1955) 156-7, id., "Diogène Laërce et le Peripatos," Diogene Laerzio storico del pensiero antico, Elenchos 7 (Naples, 1986) 258, and J. Mejer, Diogenes Laertius and His Hellenistic Background, Hermes Einzelschrift 40 (Leiden, 1978) 18.

¹⁶ P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1972) 249ff., claims (267) that this is "the earliest datable evidence for the Alexandrian cult of Sarapis." According to Artemidorus, *Onirocriticon* 2.44 (= **86**), Demetrius wrote a work in five books on cures provided through dreams by Sarapis.

Demetrius, viz. Demetrius Poliorcetes, about whom this same story is told by Aelian (*Var. hist.* 9.9).¹⁷

4. Political Activities: Diogenes tells us, on the authority of Demetrius of Magnesia, that Demetrius of Phalerum ἄρξασθαι...τῆς πολιτείας when Harpalus, fleeing Alexander, came to Athens (fr. 1). A possible translation of $\alpha \beta \xi \alpha \sigma \theta \alpha i$ $\tau \eta \zeta \pi \sigma \lambda i \tau \epsilon i \alpha \zeta$ is "he assumed the government of the city," which, however, puts Diogenes and his source, Demetrius of Magnesia, in error, for all sources report that Demetrius came to power in Athens in 317 BC. The passage is better translated as "he entered politics," or "he was registered as a citizen," once it is realized that Harpalus came to Athens in 324 BC. This statement provides us with a starting point for arriving at Demetrius' probable date of birth. Since Aristotle states (Ath. Pol. 42.1) that the earliest age at which one could enter politics was eighteen, Demetrius accordingly could not have been born later than 342 BC. But, since Demetrius is reported to have taken part in a legation after the battle of Crannon, which occurred in August/ September 322 BC and began to rule Athens for Cassander five years later, both of which positions most likely would have demanded more age and experience, one has to wonder about Demetrius' age at his entry into politics. Bayer and Wehrli accordingly push back the date of Demetrius' birth to 350 BC.¹⁸ Later, Wehrli suggested that he may have been born as early as 360 BC, basing this on the report of Eusebius-Hieronymus that Demetrius' floruit was in 320 BC (Chron., Ol. 115 = 1).¹⁹ Forty was considered the standard age for a man's *floruit*. I will discuss this further in Chronological Information below.

In mentioning Demetrius' decade of rule in Athens, Diogenes only tells us that "through public speeches before the Athenians, he was leader ($i\xi\eta\gamma\eta\sigma\alpha\tau$ 0) of the city for ten years" (5.75 = 1), neglecting to mention that he was placed in this position by Cassander or even what those ten years were. To his credit, Diogenes does not mention that

¹⁷ Wehrli 1967, 52.

¹⁸ Bayer 1942, 1; Wehrli 1967, 49; F. Susemihl, Geschichte der griechischen Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit, Bd. I (Leipzig, 1891) 135, suggests that Demetrius was born between 354 and 348, which would make his entry into politics between the ages of 24 and 30.

¹⁹ F. Wehrli, "Demetrios," *RE* Suppl. 11 (1968) 514 and in the new Ueberweg-Praechter, "Der Peripatos bis zum Beginn der römischen Kaiserzeit," in *Grundriβ der Geschichte der Philosophie. Die Philosophie der Antike*, Bd. 3: Ältere Akademie, Aristoteles-Peripatos, ed. H. Flashar, 559 (Basel, 1983).

Demetrius was στρατηγός three times and ἵππαρχος twice, perhaps during the brief oligarchy headed by Phocion during the period of 322/1-319/8 BC, as is recorded on the base of a statue found at Eleusis (IG II² 2971 = **162**). As Stephen Tracy shows in his article in the present collection, this inscription is to be dated no earlier than 270 BC; the Demetrius referred to can be none other than Demetrius of Phalerum's namesake grandson.

The great esteem in which Demetrius was held by the Athenians during his regency—most likely in return for what Diogenes says, that "he achieved many splendid results working for the city, as he added to the city both sources of revenue and buildings" (5.75 = 1)—is shown by the statement that 360 bronze statues were dedicated to him, depicting him either as an equestrian or driving a team of horses. Diogenes curiously adds here that it took less than 300 days to complete these statues (5.75 = 1). Others give different numbers of statues dedicated to Demetrius Nepos says 300 (Miltiades 6 = 24A) as does Plut., Praec. ger. rei publ. 28 820e = 25B); Strabo (9.1.20 = 19) says more than 300; [Dio Chrysostom] says 1500 (Corinthiaca 37.41 = 25C), while Pliny (NH 34. 12.27 = 25A) and Nonius (De conpendiosa doctrina 12 = 24C) report, like Diogenes, that there were 360 statues.

In dealing with Demetrius' fall from power in Athens, while others attribute his eclipse to the capture of Athens from Cassander by Demetrius Poliorcetes, Diogenes attributes it simply to "all-consuming envy" without further explanation (5.76 = 1). But at this point in his narrative Diogenes gets his chronology wrong. He says, "Impeached by certain people for a capital offense, he was sentenced to death in absentia" (5.77 = 1). Demetrius' accusation for treason and sentencing to death, however, may not have occurred in 307, when he fell from power, but in April of 318 BC, when he was condemned along with Phocion and his followers, as we learn from Plutarch (Vita Phocionis 35 = 15A) and Cornelius Nepos (Phocion 3 = 15B). We must wonder if the same sort of chronological error is not lurking in the words of Philochorus as reported by Dionysius of Harlicarnassus (De Dinarcho 3 = 31). Inter-

Interestingly, Theophrastus is credited with the following: "The same man (Theophrastus), when asked what gain there is in government, said: 'Envy" (610 FHS&G = Gnomologium Vaticanum, no. 335 Sternbach [Wiener Studien 10 (1888) 260]); see W. Fortenbaugh, Quellen zur Ethik Theophrasts (Amsterdam, 1984) 157-9. One cannot resist wondering if Theophrastus arrived at this conclusion after seeing his pupil and friend toppled from power.

estingly enough, when Demetrius had anticipated that the Athenians wanted revenge for his collaboration with Macedonia at this time (i.e., 318 BC), he fled to the Macedonian garrison in Munychia which was then commanded by none other than Nicanor, the nephew, brother-in-law, probable son-in-law, and adopted son, of Aristotle (Diodorus 18.64.1 ff.; cf. Athen 12.542 E = 43 A).

We learn from other sources that Demetrius fled to Thebes, where he lived in exile for nine or ten years.²² Diogenes makes no mention of this at all; neither does Cicero (cf. De fin. 5.19.53 = 36). He is more intent to tell us the sordid details of Demetrius' ruin in Athens, namely, how the Athenians, not able to get hold of Demetrius himself, desecrated the statues of him, selling some, tossing others into the sea, and cutting others up for use as chamber pots $(5.76 = 1)^{23}$ Sic transit gloria mundi! But then Diogenes adds that one statue of Demetrius was spared, preserved on the Acropolis. This looks to be what Mejer, in his book on Diogenes Laertius, called "author's remarks";²⁴ Diogenes is telling us that he himself has seen the sole surviving statue of Demetrius of Phalerum in Athens. Due to this intrusion, one has to wonder to what the information from Favorinus which follows refers: "The Athenians did this (τοῦτο) on the orders of Demetrius the King" (5.76 = 1) It seems to indicate that Demetrius Poliorcetes ordered one statue of Demetrius of Phalerum to be preserved. But this is hardly likely to have been the case. The τοῦτο most likely refers to the tearing down of the statues of Demetrius and disposal of them in various ways. Diogenes tags on to this, again lifting information from Favorinus, that the year in which Demetrius was the eponymous archon at Athens, i.e., 309/8 BC, was registered, presumably after his flight in 307, as the year of lawlessness (5.76 = 1).

²⁴ Mejer 1978, 53–4.

²¹ See esp. Ferguson 1911, 32–7, and Düring 1957, 62–3.

Polyaenus, Strategemata 3.15 = 45, Diodorus 20.45.4 = 30, and Plut., Vita Demetrii 9.3 = 29.

Juvenal 10.61–4, reports the same about the likenesses of Sejanus, when he fell from power; see B. Lavagnini, "Motivi diatribici in Giovenale," Athenaeum 27 (1947) 87–8. Nero suffered a similar damnatio memoriae according to Pliny, Panegyricus 52, as did also Demades, according to Plut., Praec. ger. rei publicae 27 820F = Demetrius, 25B. See in general L. Jerphagnon, "Damnatio memoriae: Essai sur le traitement des nuisances de l'histoire," in Du banal au merveilleux. Mélanges offerts à Lucien Jerphagnon. Cahiers de Fontenay, nos. 55–7 (Fontenay-Saint Cloud, 1989) 7–49. I am grateful to Tiziano Dorandi for this last reference.

Diogenes recounts later in his narrative, actually outside what we might call his "biography proper," that when Demetrius was being viciously prosecuted (ἐσυκοφαντεῖτο), Menander, the comic poet, was nearly hauled into court (in 307 BC?) for no other reason than that he was a friend of Demetrius (5.79 = 1). He adds that Telesphorus, the cousin of Demetrius, intervened and saved him from this fate.²⁵ This appears to be another instance of "author's remarks," for Diogenes interrupts the report, saying parenthetically, "for I learn this, too." He neglects again, however, to mention his source. Indeed, other friends and associates of Demetrius were prosecuted or forced to answer accusations at this time, namely Dinarchus and Theophrastus and the schools of philosophers.²⁶

As mentioned earlier, Diogenes omits mention of the events which transpired in Demetrius' life while he is said to have lived in exile in Thebes, from 307/6 to 298/7 or 297/6 BC.²⁷ Instead, when we recapture the thread of Diogenes' narrative back in the "biography proper," he shifts abruptly to the report from Hermippus that when Cassander died (298/7 BC, i.e., ten years after Demetrius' flight from Athens), Demetrius fled to Ptolemy I Soter in Egypt (5.78 = 1 = Hermippus, fr. 58W.).²⁸ He spent some time at the court of Ptolemy and served as an advisor to the king. One specific piece of advice which Diogenes tells us Demetrius gave to Ptolemy was that he should confer royal power on his children by his wife Eurydice (5.78 = 1). Diogenes explains very little to us here. We know that Eurydice was Antipater's daughter—thus the sister of Cassander—and the aunt of Ptolemy Soter's other, later wife and

²⁵ See D. Potter, "Telesphoros, Cousin of Demetrius: A Note on the Trial of Menander," *Historia* 36 (1987) 491–5, and D. Wiles, "Menander's *Dyskolos* and Demetrios of Phaleron's Dilemma: A Study of the Play in Its Historical Context—The Trial of Phokion, the Ideals of a Moderate Oligarch, and the Rancour of the Disenfranchised," *G&R* 31 (1984) 170–9.

²⁶ Dinarchus (Ps.-Plut. *Vitae decem oratorum* 850C-E and Dion. Hal. *De Dinarcho* 2); Theophrastus and other philosophers (DL 5.38, Alexis Comicus ap. Athen. 13.610F, Pollux, *Onomasticon* 9.42; cf. Athen. 11.508F; for a general overview, see Ferguson 1911, 95–108.

Diodorus 20.45.2 = 30 and Plut. Vita Demetrii 9.3 = 29, say that Demetrius fled first to Thebes provided with safe conduct by Demetrius Poliorcetes. Plutarch adds that Demetrius of Phalerum had more to fear from the Athenians than the enemy.

²⁸ Ptolemy Soter invited many poets and philosophers to his court at Alexandria, notably Theophrastus, who declined (DL 5.37), and Strato, who accepted, becoming tutor to Ptolemy Philadelphus (DL 5.58 = fr. 1W. and the *Suda*, s.v. Στράτων, Σ1185 = fr. 25W.)

Stepsister, Berenike. Eurydice was also the mother of Ptolemy Ceraunus, and this was the son whom Demetrius advised Ptolemy to name as his heir. Diogenes tells us that Ptolemy did not listen to Demetrius' advice, but instead gave the power to his son by Berenike, Ptolemy II Philadelphus, whose name Diogenes does not mention.²⁹ When Ptolemy I Soter died in 283/2 (he had made his son Philadelphus joint ruler in 285), Philadelphus thought it fitting to have Demetrius guarded in the countryside—perhaps he knew about Demetrius' advice to his father that he not be invested with the royal power—until he should make some decision about him.³⁰ Demetrius eventually died in confinement from a snake bite. I shall have more to say about this in the section on death.

Immediately after the notice of Demetrius' death, Diogenes parades out his own epigram on Demetrius. In most lives these verses signal the end of what I have called the "biography proper." As a result, it comes as something of a surprise to find, after the epigram, a citation from Heraclides' (Lembus'?) Epitome of Sotion's Successions (Sotion, fr. 18W.), in which Demetrius' own words are quoted: "When Ptolemy (Soter) wanted to hand over his kingdom to his son Philadelphus, Demetrius tried to dissuade him, saying, 'What you give to another, you don't have'' (5.78 = 1). Hermippus, whom Diogenes had cited earlier for the account of the succession to the throne of Egypt and Demetrius' death by a snake bite, seems not to have reported these words of Demetrius, although they would have fit well into his account which Diogenes lifted from Hermippus' work. Then Diogenes appends a further afterthought dealing with the near trial of Menander mentioned earlier (5.79 = 1), which concludes the "biography proper" and leads into the list of Demetrius' writings.

5. Other Important Items: Under this rubric I have placed other information included by Diogenes which does not fit well under others. Diogenes had mentioned on the authority of the Memorabilia of Favorinus that Demetrius had been a member of the household of Conon (5.75 = 1 = Favorinus, fr. 7 Mensching). Shortly thereafter, Diogenes again cites the same work of Favorinus for the statement that

²⁹ See Fraser 1972, 321ff., and F.M. Heichelheim, "Berenice (1)," Oxford Classical Dictionary, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1970) 165.

³⁰ See Wehrli 1968, 560.

Demetrius suffered violence at the hands of Cleon (Favorinus, fr. 11 Mensching). Von der Mühll and Wehrli suggested that we should read Conon for Cleon.³¹ In connection with this we can observe that in the *Suda* entry for Demetrius it is reported that "He (Demetrius) was so good-looking that he was even slanderously said to have been the beloved of Neon" ($\Delta 429 = 2$). Here again the name looks suspicious and Wehrli and Mensching, considering a similar confusion, suggest changing Neon to Cleon or perhaps Conon.³² If we read the two fragments together and insert Cleon (or Conon?) in both, we have a curious bit of information. Demetrius of Phalerum was the beloved of Cleon (or Conon) and suffered violence at his hands. Whether this is a case of sexual abuse is difficult to decide.

The first sentence after Diogenes' catalogue of Demetrius' writings seems to be a general yet very positive remark on Demetrius' literary style: "His style is philosophical mixed with a rhetorical intensity" (5.82 = 85). Diogenes probably did not read Demetrius' writings himself, so this must be the judgment of one of his sources. Perhaps most striking is the fact that Diogenes makes no mention whatsoever of Demetrius' connection with the establishment of the library and museum in Alexandria, although many other authors have much to say about this.³³

6. Anecdotes: Lamia, or Lameia, was Athenian, the daughter of Cleanor, according to Polemon as quoted by Athenaeus (13.577C), but probably not εὐγενής, although Diogenes asserts as much on the authority of Favorinus (5.76 = 1 = Favorinus, fr. 7 Mensching), for she is said to have been an αὐλητρίς ("flute-girl") by Machon as quoted by Athenaeus (13.577E). Still, Demetrius may have been involved with her in some sort of amorous relationship, probably before she became the beloved of Demetrius Poliorcetes. It is not certain whether he married her or anyone else, although Diogenianus-Choeroboscus registers her as his γυνή (Orthographia [Cramer, Anecd. Gr. Oxon. 2.239 = 6), but it

³¹ Wehrli 1967, 14 (app. crit. to fr. 38); von der Mühll is credited with this conjecture by E. Mensching (ed.), Favorin von Arelate: Der erste Teil der Fragmente. Memorabilien und Omnigena Historia. Texte und Kommentare 3 (Berlin, 1963) 80.

³² Wehrli 1967, 14 (app. crit. to fr. 36); Mensching 1963, 81 n. 4.

³³ See 39, 40, 58B, 59 and 61-3.

³⁴ Jacoby, *FGrH* IIB.643. See the remarks of Mensching 1963, 74, who professes his belief that there is here another confusion of Demetrius of Phalerum with Demetrius Poliorcetes.

seems clear that Demetrius had at least one child, for Athenaeus (4.167E-F=7) quotes Hegesander about a grandson of Demetrius, likewise named Demetrius, who was made into one of the six the smothetai at Athens by Antigonus Gonatas in the third century BC.³⁵

7. Apophthegms/Sayings: Diogenes introduces all sorts of utterances into his accounts of philosophers' lives. Like the anecdotes which Diogenes also regularly includes about his subjects and with which characteristic sayings are often found, a philosopher's words in certain circumstances or situations serve to illustrate his character, to present his $\eta\theta\sigma$, and this appears to have been Diogenes' main purpose, not to demonstrate his $\pi\rho\alpha\xi\epsilon\iota\zeta$ or intellectual achievements.³⁶

Diogenes offers us eight sayings of Demetrius, only one of which has anything like a context, i.e., the one about how he felt about the destruction of his statues (5.82 = 1).³⁷ The rest are given one after the other with no background information to aid our understanding about the circumstances under which the words were said. It is worth noting that the sayings of Demetrius are not made an integral part of his biography but occur in a separate and separable section of the narrative, after his catalogue of writings.³⁸ It is possible that Diogenes merely lifted these sayings from some collection, for gnomologies and anthologies did indeed exist in Diogenes' time and perhaps even earlier.³⁹ It must also be recognized that often the attribution of an utterance to a particular individual

³⁵ On this Demetrius (now to be identified with the subject of the inscription IG II² 2971) see the remarks of Stephen Tracy in the present collection and in *Political Activities* above.

³⁶ Mejer 1978, 91 and Sollenberger 1992, 3839–40.

³⁷ The same saying is attributed to Aristides with only one minor difference—κατέβαλον for κατέστρεψαν—in the Gnomologium Vaticanum no. 48 (see L. Sternbach, "De gnomologio Vaticano inedito I," Wiener Studien 9 [1887] 197 and H. Gottschalk, "Addenda Peripatetica," Phronesis 18 [1973] 93).

³⁸ Much like the sayings which Diogenes attributes to Aristotle (5.17–21) and others.

³⁹ Collections of sayings are claimed to have existed as early as the fourth century BC; see O. Schulthess, "Γνώμη," RE 7 (1912) 1481–1500, W. Gemoll, Das Apophthegma: Literarhistorische Studien (Wien and Leipzig, 1924) 34ff., K. Horna and K. von Fritz, "Gnome, Gnomendichtung, Gnomologia," RE Suppl. 6 (1935) 74–89, F. Wehrli, "Gnome, Anecdote und Biographie," MH 30 (1973) 193–208, and J. F. Kindstrand, "Diogenes Laertius and the 'Chriae' Tradition," Diogene Laerzio storico del pensiero antico. Elenchos 7 (Naples, 1986) 233–8. Demetrius himself is credited with what seem to have been collections of sayings, e.g., Χρειῶν α΄ (5.81 = 1) and Τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφῶν ἀποφθέγματα (Stob. Ecl. 3.1.172 = 87); see Wehrli's comments ad loc. (1967, 68–70).

can be questioned; unless we find the words in the works of that person, there is little way to determine whether the attribution is indeed correct. A single saying is often found attributed to many different people or is found attributed to the same person a second time in only slightly changed form. Given the easy transferability of sayings from one person to another, their "floating" nature, we should do well to be cautious about their attribution to a particular individual.⁴⁰ Diogenes himself may have been wary of this, for he adds after the last saying of Demetrius that "All these sayings seem ($\delta o \kappa \epsilon \hat{\imath}$) to be attributed to him" (DL 5.83 = 1).

Due to the impersonal nature of most of Demetrius' sayings Wehrli suggested that they were excerpted from some of his speeches or literary works. The themes of the sayings, mostly ethical and political, partly support this suggestion: his reaction to the desecration of his statues (perhaps from his memoirs, Π ερὶ τῆς δεκαετίας or ᾿Αθηναίων καταδρομή), luck or chance accompanies wealth—the blind leading the blind (perhaps from his work Π ερὶ τύχης), the power of the eyebrows to dominate the face may have been part of one of his rhetorical writings. The others, however, are hard to assign to specific works: how to deal with proudly arrogant people, political eloquence is like steel is in battle, the honor and respect which children owe to others, and a sneering statement about a pompous young man.

8. Chronological Information: Diogenes gives us few firm indications of dates in the life of Demetrius. First he tells us that Demetrius "ἄρξασθαι τῆς πολιτείας when Harpalus, fleeing from Alexander, came to Athens" (5.75 = fr. 6W.). As has been seen, if we take these words to mean that Demetrius entered political life in this year (324 BC) as is most probable, the very latest that he could have been born would have been 342 BC, since youths were registered as citizens at the age of eighteen. Bayer and Wehrli⁴² force back Demetrius' date of birth, perhaps to 350 and later Wehrli⁴³ pushes Demetrius' birth back even further, to 360 BC, based on the Eusebius-Hieronymus report, "Demetrius

⁴⁰ See J. Fairweather, "Fiction in the Biographies of Ancient Writers," *Ancient Society* 5 (1974) 266-7, and Wehrli 1973, 193-208.

⁴¹ Wehrli 1967, 70 and 1968, 519-20.

⁴² Bayer 1942, 1 and Wehrli 1967, 49.

⁴³ See n. 19 above.

Falereus habetur illustris" (*Chron.*, O1. 115 [i.e., 320 BC] = **14**), which I consider equivalent to a statement about Demetrius' *floruit*.

Diogenes also states that Demetrius fled to Ptolemy after Cassander died, i.e., in 297/6, omitting mention of what transpired in the intervening years (307/6–297/6). Since Diogenes relates that Demetrius was imprisoned by Ptolemy Philadelphus and died from a snake bite (5.78 = 1), it seems best to say that Demetrius did not die before 285 BC, when Philadelphus was made joint ruler with his father, and probably did not die until after Ptolemy Soter died and his son became sole monarch in 283/2 BC.

Thus, if Demetrius were born in 342 BC at the very latest, we can reckon that he died at least at the age of 59 or 60, or if we adopt as his year of birth 350 BC, at the age of 67 or 68 or, at the most, if we accept Wehrli's suggestion that he was born in 360 BC, at the age of 77 or 78. More precise figures than this seem impossible, given the present state of our information.

9. Death: Diogenes rarely concerns himself with the date of his subject's death; he is more interested in the manner and circumstances of death. Although one naturally expects to read an account of a person's death in a biography, death—especially the manner of death—was a particular fascination of most ancient biographers, and the description of amazing and incredible deaths of famous people became firmly established as a distinct and standard topos in Hellenistic biography. Hermippus was clearly one biographer who indulged in this curious predilection,⁴⁴ as we can judge from the many accounts of philosophers' deaths which Diogenes reports from Hermippus.⁴⁵

Diogenes tells us that Demetrius, having been imprisoned in the Egyptian countryside by Ptolemy Philadelphus, spent his last days in dejection ($\dot{\alpha}\theta\nu\mu\dot{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho\nu\nu$) and died in his sleep from the effects of a snake bite. He was buried in the precinct of Busiris in the delta of the Nile near Diospolis (5.78 = 1). Diogenes leads the reader to believe that the snake

⁴⁵ I.e., 1.72, 2.13, 2.109, 2.120, 2.142, 3.2, 4.44, 5.78, 5.91, 6.99–100, 9.4, 9.27, 9.43, and 10.15.

⁴⁴ F. Wehrli, Die Schule des Aristoteles, Suppl. 1: Hermippos der Kallimacheer (Basel, 1974) 105; see also A. Ronconi, "Exitus illustrium virorum," Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum: Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der antiken Welt, Bd. 6, ed. T. Klauser, 1258–68 (Stuttgart, 1966).

bite was an accident, especially from his vague use of $\pi\omega\varsigma$, "somehow." Jacoby, 46 designating the assassination as being due to *libido regis*, believed that Ptolemy was responsible for Demetrius' death, basing this on what Cicero reports: "We hear that the man ... was deprived of life in that very same Egyptian kingdom when an asp was applied to his body" (Pro Rabirio Postumo 9.23 = 42). Diogenes' account, however, does not support the suggestion that Ptolemy had Demetrius executed, but rather that it was a case of suicide.⁴⁷ Suicide is indeed regularly the result in tales featuring the $\dot{\alpha}\theta\nu\mu\dot{\alpha}$ -death motif, i.e., the advisor who has fallen into disfavor with the monarch, and as a result has become despondent (Demetrius άθυμότερον διηγε, writes Diogenes) and in the examples often given in works entitled Περὶ φυγῆς. This motif of άθυμία in connection with a person's death occurs elsewhere in Diogenes' work and in two other instances when he is taking information from Hermippus: e.g., 1.95, 2.112, 2.142 (Hermippus, fr. 38 W.), 4.3, 6.99 (Hermippus, fr., 39W.).⁴⁸

10. Writings: Diogenes is due many thanks for having preserved a list of writings for as many philosophers as he has. While these lists may sadden us because they highlight how very little of an individual philosopher's output has come down to us, they also afford us a glance at the sort of research and study in which an individual engaged. Moreover, since titles can disclose general interests and thus give us some idea of career patterns or aspirations, and even reveal character, we should look at them closely.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ F. Jacoby, *FGrH* IIB p. 643.

⁴⁷ So believed C. Ostermann, Commentatio de Demetrii Phalerei vita, rebus gestis et scriptorum reliquiis [Hersfeld and Fulda, 1847 and 1857] 2.15 and E. Zeller, Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung, 3rd ed., Bd. 2.2 (Leipzig, 1879) 898. F. Susemihl, however, in Geschichte der griechischen Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit (Leipzig, 1891–2) 1:139 n. 695, writes: "Von einem Selbstmord ... ist hier keine Rede."

⁴⁸ See Wehrli 1974, 105 and W. Cronert, *Kolotes und Menedemos* (Leipzig, 1906) 2–3.

Diogenes himself says several times that a man's writing can help to reveal his nature and character, e.g., 2.56, 2.63, 3.23, 3.34, 6.14, 7.180, 7.185, 9.1, and 9.28; see also D. R. Stuart, "Author's Lives as Revealed in their Works: A Critical Résumé," Classical Studies in Honor of J. C. Rolfe, ed G. Hadzsits (Philadelphia, 1931) 301; Fairweather 1974, 233–6, and Mejer 1978, 3.

Diogenes includes a list of Demetrius' writings containing 45 titles (5.80-1). All except one of the first nine titles consists of more than one book; all the rest are monographs. The arrangement is according to subject matter or thematic content, but there are problems here.⁵⁰ In his introduction to the catalogue, Diogenes gives what look to be subject-headings, for he writes: "Of these books, some are historical, some political, some about poets, some rhetorical, collections of both public speeches and ambassadorial speeches, but also of Aesop's fables and many others" (5.80 = 1).

In the list which follows, the titles start to follow the groupings mentioned in the introduction, but after the ninth title we get a series of ten titles of dialogues (beginning with $\Pi \tau o \lambda \epsilon \mu \alpha i o \varsigma \alpha'$). After these the list resumes with political works, historical works, etc. Jacoby made the attractive suggestion that this list really consists of two separate catalogues, an original and a supplement. This may be supported in part by the double occurrence of a work $\Pi \epsilon \rho i \nu o \mu \omega \nu$ in one book in two different places in the catalogue. We may note further that the second list is less systematically organized than the first; maybe there is no order.

There are a number of titles of works omitted by Diogenes or his source(s), for we find them cited by other authors.⁵² It would be helpful to know what Diogenes' source was. No one to my knowledge has ever made a solid identification and I am not in a position to do so now.⁵³ Most likely it was not Hermippus, for he appears to have used definite schemes in listing: e.g., alphabetization, as in the case of Theophrastus' writings.⁵⁴ Moreover, the absence of any stichometric notice in Demetrius' list may indicate that it was not derived from an Alexandrian source, for indicating the number of $\sigma \tau \hat{\imath} \chi \sigma_0 = \pi \eta$ of a work or corpus of

⁵⁰ Likewise, the catalogue of writings which Diogenes gives for Heraclides of Pontus (5.86–8) is in large measure arranged according to subject or thematic content. See F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, Bd. 7: *Herakleides Pontikos*, 2nd ed. (Basel, 1967–8) 64–5.

⁵¹ Jacoby, *FGrH* II B p. 643.

⁵² See Wehrli 1967, 56.

⁵³ U. von Wilamowitz, *Antigonos von Karystos*. Philologische Untersuchungen 4 (Berlin, 1881) 46 and E. Martini, "Demetrios (85)," *RE* 4 (1901) 2828, tentatively suggested Hermippus.

^{54 5.42-50.} See K. Usener, Analecta Theophrastea (Diss. Bonn: Leipzig, 1858) 22-4 (rpt. in Kleine Schriften. ed. L. Radermacher, vol. I [Leipzig, 1912]), O. Regenbogen, "Theophrastos (3)," RE Suppl. 7 (1940) 1366-9, and Sollenberger 1992, 3854-5.

works became a common practice in Alexandria in the third century BC.⁵⁵ Interestingly enough, in his introduction to the book list Diogenes unequivocally states: "In the number of his books and verses (or "lines" $\sigma \tau \hat{\imath} \chi o \iota$) he surpassed almost all Peripatetics of his time" (5.80 = 1). Even so, Diogenes gives us no actual total of lines for Demetrius' works. Moreover, the forty-five titles listed, most of them in one book, do not correspond with his contention that he wrote more than almost all of his contemporaries.

11. Homonyms: We frequently find a list of people appended to Diogenes' "Lives"—lists not only of philosophers or writers, but also of other artists and persons of note—who had the same name as the subject of the life he is composing. Lists of namesakes were incorporated early into biographies, perhaps they were a feature of Callimachus' *Pinakes*, being transmitted along with the biographies which Diogenes and others used as their sources. The mid-first century BC work of Demetrius of Magnesia, On Poets and Authors of the Same Name, will have been, by virtue of its title alone, a major source for these lists of namesakes. Although Diogenes clearly had access to Demetrius' work,⁵⁶ it would be rash to assume that in every case such a list in its present form in Diogenes has been taken from Demetrius of Magnesia, and in the case of the life of Demetrius of Phalerum, Diogenes does not cite his source for the list.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, some lists may ultimately derive from Demetrius of Magnesia's work, that is, through intermediate sources. For there were other authors with a pinacographical bent who also incorporated lists of namesakes and whom Diogenes may have used as a source: e.g., Apollonius and Favorinus, in his Memorabilia.

⁵⁵ Of the five Peripatetics for whom Diogenes provides a book catalogue, he gives a stichometric notice only in the cases of Aristotle, Strato, and Theophrastus. On this feature of Alexandrian bibliographic practice, see T. Birt, Das antike Buchwesen in seinem Verhältniss zur Literatur (Berlin, 1882) 204-5, 214, and 286. K. Ohly, "Stichometrische Untersuchungen," Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Beiheft 61 (Leipzig, 1928) 4-22, and R. Blum, Kallimachos und die Literaturverzeichnung bei den Griechen (Frankfurt, 1977) 124 and 238ff., now available in English as The Alexandrian Library and the Origin of Bibliography, tr. H.H. Wellisch. Wisconsin Studies in Classics (Madison, 1991).

⁵⁶ Mejer 1978, 38–9.

⁵⁷ There are forty-three instances of homonym-listings in Diogenes' work and in only two of them does he cite his source—Demetrius of Magnesia (1.38 and 1.79; perhaps 8.84 is another instance where he used Demetrius, since he is named just before this).

In his *vita* of Demetrius of Phalerum, it will be noticed that Diogenes does not simply offer a barren list of names, but for each Demetrius there is some distinctive, individualizing feature, trait, or achievement which sets each person apart from others who had the same name. In his regular manner Diogenes reserves the list as a separate, detachable section in the "life," and, as usual, but not always, at the tail end of his narrative. Further, there is a discernible order to the twenty Demetrii in this list, as Mejer has shown:⁵⁸ prose writers are separated from poets (as we expect from the title of Demetrius of Magnesia's book) and the listing in each section is not systematic but mostly chronological, although not completely so. All of the men listed are prior to Demetrius of Magnesia, but not all the famous or well-known Demetrii are listed; notable exceptions are Demetrius of Sparta and the Jewish Demetrius.⁵⁹

Although Diogenes has not provided us with all the information which seems to have been readily available to him, he has given us some details that we would otherwise not know. He did adopt his standard means of composition by "rubrics," which brings the life of Demetrius of Phalerum at least formally into line with others. While some of these reports are of questionable value and historicity, and when we have gotten rid of what can be shown to be wrong or fictitious, the meager amount with which we are left still helps us to know something about Demetrius of Phalerum. When we supplement Diogenes' account with information from other authors, our picture of the man does become a bit clearer, but with this, too, we must beware of errors, mistakes, and intentional falsehoods. Thus, however faded and brief are the glimpses we get of this man, Demetrius of Phalerum, we can still arrive at an impression of who he was, what he was like, and what others thought of him.

J. Mejer, "Demetrius of Magnesia: On Poets and Authors of the Same Name," Hermes 109.4 (1981) 462.
 Mejer 1981, 462.



3

Demetrius of Phalerum: Who was He and Who was He 2

Stephen V. Tracy

St. Dow, In Memoriam

To begin with some of my conclusions (as well as to pick up on my title), Demetrius of Phalerum, contrary to what is generally believed, was not a military man, clearly not a dictator, probably not an anti-democratic tyrant, and certainly not an irrational megalomaniac who erected a statue of himself on every Athenian streetcorner. He was a talented negotiator, a competent lawgiver, and quite a respectable scholar and philosopher. Indeed, he deserves to be regarded, far more than he currently is, as a serious literary figure. He certainly played a crucial role in the Peripatos and, I shall strongly argue, in the foundation of the library at Alexandria.¹

¹ See also the chapter on Demetrius in my recent book, *Athenian Democracy in Transition: Attic Letter-Cutters of 340 to 290 B.C.* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1995) 36–51 and the bibliography cited in note 1 on page 36. Some sections of the present paper inevitably draw on ideas presented in the book though I have adapted them and expanded as necessary.

Demetrius was also not—and this will at first seem a silly thing to claim—identical with his grandson. It is not after all a matter of general knowledge that he had a grandson and namesake who was a prominent leader in Athens just after the Chremonidean War, that is toward the middle of the third century B.C. Modern scholarship understandably therefore has completely confused Demetrius and his grandson. We will have occasion to deal with this point in more detail later. Demetrius the Elder or the famous Demetrius, as I shall refer to him, became ruler of Athens in 317 B.C. when he was about 35 to 40 years of age and ruled for a decade.

He came to power as the result of an agreement between the Athenians and Kassander, the son of Antipater and ruler of northern Greece. Part of the arrangements called for the placement of a Macedonian garrison under a Macedonian commandant in Piraeus. It was Demetrius' singular misfortune that his regime was the second one imposed by the Macedonians on the Athenians in a space of less than five years. Even in the best of circumstances people have little tolerance for foreign soldiers in their midst. The first regime put in place by the Macedonians was the oligarchy of the years 321 to 319 led by Phokion and Demades. This oligarchy came about in the aftermath of the Athenian defeat in the Lamian war. Krateros and Antipater, the victorious Macedonian generals in that war, stationed a garrison in Piraeus for the first time in mid-September of 322 and demanded the condemnation of the democratic leaders of the unsuccessful war effort against them. Demosthenes, as a consequence, committed suicide on Poros rather than be taken by Antipater's agents.

This concatenation of events, viz. the death of Demosthenes and the imposition of a foreign garrison, has often been taken—wrongly, in my view—to mark the end of Athenian democracy. Indeed, I would suggest that this viewpoint has pre-conditioned most scholars, ancient and modern, to label as oligarchic any regime associated with the Macedonians and, more specifically, to fail to appreciate the positive accomplishments of our Demetrius. History, in short, has not been kind to Demetrius.

In modern sources he is very often characterized as a military dictator and tyrant. William Scott Ferguson, whose book *Hellenistic Athens* is still very influential, describes him as a "political dictator" on page 39 and on page 47 adds "for year after year he was elected general of

Athens." W. W. Tarn in volume 6 of the first edition of the Cambridge Ancient History page 480 says that "Demetrius really governed Athens as a tyrant with Cassander's support." The authors of volume 7 of the second edition do better by Demetrius giving more emphasis to his positive role as adviser to the first Ptolemy. Peter Green on pages 44 to 45 of his 1990 magnum opus, Alexander to Actium, does see that Demetrius was a philosopher-king, but his view of him is rather less than favorable. On page 45, for example, he writes of his regime: "What happened was, nothing happened: it is remarkable how much of Demetrius' legislation was merely negative..." He also repeats the idea that Demetrius was elected general year after year. Some of the ancient sources even report that like some crazed megalomaniac he set up hundreds of statues of himself all over Athens. The figures range from 300 to 1500 bronze statues.

While the ancient sources are largely negative, there are notable exceptions—Cicero,⁶ Strabo,⁷ Diodoros,⁸ and Diogenes Laertios⁹ judge him quite positively. The hostility towards Demetrius arose first of all, as I have just intimated, because of his association with the Macedonians, above all Kassander who became his political mentor. Kassander put him in place and Demetrius did not have the power to rid Athens of the hated Macedonian garrison. In addition, Demetrius attempted to control personal expenditures for show by limiting the amount that could be spent on such important family events as weddings and funerals. No doubt many resented this as an intrusion into their private affairs; predictably, they responded with attacks on Demetrius' private life.¹⁰

²Hellenistic Athens (Chicago: Ares Publishers 1974 [unchanged reprint of the London edition of 1911]).

³ Alexander to Actium (Berkeley: University of California Press 1990).

⁴So too C. Mossé, La tyrannie dans la Grèce antique (Paris: Presses Universitaire de France 1969) 155-66, who does nevertheless present Demetrius in rather favorable terms as "le tyran philosophe."

⁵[Dio Chrysost.] Oratio 37.41 (1500), D.L. 5.75 (360), Pliny the Elder Nat. Hist. 34.12.27 (360), Strabo 9.1.20 (300+), Plutarch Mor. 820E (300), Nepos Miltiades 6 (300).

⁶De Legibus 3.6.14.

⁷9.1.20.

⁸ 18.74.3.

⁹5.75.

¹⁰ On his sumptuary measures see Philochoros in F. Jacoby, Die Fragmente der

There were other factors—he was a philosopher and philosophers were always suspected of being anti-democratic; that label could easily be pinned on him. Think, for example, of Socrates. Moreover, Demetrius himself had clear connections with Aristotle's school and could easily be depicted as pro-Macedonian.

Finally there was the big lie perpetrated by his successors. The victors tend after all to have the last say. When Demetrius (soon to be called) Poliorketes and his father King Antigonos seized Athens and removed Demetrius of Phalerum in the year 307, they posed as liberators and the restorers of democracy. What else would they have claimed? The labels and sloganeering of the time were, if it is possible, even more cynical than in present-day politics. Their real objective was to take control of Athens, thus weakening Kassander. This they accomplished. They crushed Kassander's garrison in Piraeus. They were, on this account, above all eagerly embraced by the Athenians as liberators. It was in connection with these events that the story of the large numbers of statues of Demetrius gained currency. The jubilant citizens, so the story went, in the course of destroying them even made some into chamberpots, unless of course it was statues of Demades to which they did this!¹¹ The confusion in our sources concerning this colorful detail should be warning enough about the factual accuracy of the account.¹² Furthermore, if this really happened, and in the huge numbers reported, the stone bases of these statues would surely have been reused and some of them at least should have survived. Yet, as we shall see, not a single one has with certainty.

The view of our Demetrius as a military leader was solidified by the discovery at Eleusis in the late 18th century of IG II² 2971, a statue base of Demetrius of Phalerum. This base revealed that he had enjoyed a distinguished military career and been a cavalry leader and then general on at least three occasions. From the moment of discovery it was naturally associated with the famous Demetrius. Indeed, it became the primary source for all discussions of his early political career—every study

Griechischen Historiker (Leiden: Brill 1954) 328 F65 and Cicero de Legibus 2.64-66; for attacks on his personal life Athenaios 12.542B-C, E-F, 13.593E-F and D.L. 5.76.

11 Plutarch Mor. 820E.

¹²It is also quite probable that our sources have at times confused reports about our Demetrius with those about Demetrius Poliorketes. See M. Sollenberger's account of Diogenes Laertios' life of Demetrius of Phalerum in the present collection.

of Demetrius relies on it¹³—and the linchpin underlying the depiction of Demetrius during his years of political power in Athens as the man on the horse, the military dictator. But this inscription, it can now be shown, has nothing to do with the famous Demetrius because it belongs to the mid-third century B.C.¹⁴

The lettering on this base is the work of the Cutter of IG II² 788.¹⁵ This man's inscribing career extended from about the year 270 to about the year 235 B.C. Moreover, since the general on the base was honored by the garrisons at Eleusis, Panakton, and Phyle, he must be the general over the Eleusinian territory; 16 this generalship did not exist at the time of the Elder Demetrius, i.e. ca. 314. At the time of the Athenaion Politeia and down to at least the year 290 B.C., there was just one general over the entire Attic countryside with the title strategos ἐπὶ τὴν $\chi \omega \rho \alpha v$. Not later than the year 265, this single office was divided into a general for the coastal region ($i\pi$) $i\pi$) $i\pi$) $i\pi$) $i\pi$) $i\pi$ 0 $i\pi$ 0 $i\pi$ 0 $i\pi$ 0 and another for the Eleusinian district, which included Panakton and Phyle (ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν ἐπ' Ἐλευσῖνος). 19 Therefore, the statue base from Eleusis can date no earlier than the year 270 B.C. It can not refer to the famous Demetrius, but must refer to his grandson of the same name, who was the agent of Antigonos Gonatas in Athens about the year 260 in the aftermath of the Chremonidean War.²⁰

¹³ See, for example, the account in J. K. Davies, Athenian Propertied Families, 600-300 B.C. (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1971) no. 3455.

¹⁴See S. V. Tracy, "Hands in Greek Epigraphy - Demetrius of Phalerum," in *Boeotia Antiqua* IV, ed. J. M. Fossey (Amsterdam 1994) 151-61, for a brief initial presentation of this discovery and some of its ramifications.

¹⁵Tracy 1995, 171–74.

¹⁶The earliest occurrence of mention of the garrison at Eleusis as a separate entity is *IG* II² 1272 of 267/6. The three garrisons together occur in *IG* II² 1299 (236/5), 1303 (218/7), 1304 (211/0), and 1305, 1306, and 1307, all of the late third century B.C.

¹⁷ Ath. Pol. 61; O. W. Reinmuth, The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C. (Leiden: Brill 1971) no. 15 lines 2-3 (l. side) of probably 329/8; IG II² 2847 of fin. s. IV a., and 682 line 24 of ca. 290.

¹⁸See Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum 24 no. 154 of the year of Peithidemos (268/7?—for the year Hesperia 57 [1988] 309), IG II² 2854 of ca. 258, and IG II² 2856 and J. Pouilloux, La Forteresse de Rhamnonte (Paris: E. De Boccard 1954) 118–20 no. 7, both of ca. 250.

¹⁹ IG II² 3460 of the year of Antimachos, who is known from a recently discovered inscription (as yet unpublished) to have been archon soon after the Chremonidean war, and 1287 of *ca.* 250.

²⁰Obscurely known, his patronymic came to light only in 1978 (*Hesperia* 47 [1978]

In 1969 another base of an equestrian statue of Demetrius, Epigraphical Museum inv. no. 13379, was published with an inadequate photograph in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*. Only in June of this year (1995) was I able to travel to Athens to examine the inscription on this base. While it is not possible to date the lettering with certainty, it is not *stoichedon* and, despite its height, a centimeter and a half high, it is lightly inscribed. The workmanship is not of the best quality. Double cutting is very evident and the strokes are not made with precision. This lettering is probably the work of a local cutter who hailed from where the base was found, namely in the deme of Sphettos which is located east of Mt. Hymettos in the mesogaia. Although it could be work of the last quarter of the fourth century, I judge it more likely that this particular lettering dates to the third century. I suspect this base too was for a statue of Demetrius the Younger. Thus, there is as yet no certain surviving base of a statue of Demetrius the Elder.

And once IG II² 2971, the statue base from Eleusis, has been removed from the dossier of evidence applicable to him, we possess no reliable evidence that our Demetrius ever held a generalship or had an active military career. I hardly need add that the fact that he wrote a work in two books entitled Στρατηγικῶν constitutes no proof that he had any practical experience as a leader of men in warfare.²³ Indeed, when the son of Antigonos attacked Athens in the spring of the year 307, Demetrius of Phalerum withdrew before the major military engagement, the assault on the garrison in Mounychia, took place. He satisfied himself to negotiate on behalf of the city and received a safe-conduct to Thebes.²⁴ The lone report of Polyainos²⁵ that describes Demetrius at this

^{281).} Ferguson 1974, 183 surmised that he was the man appointed by Antigonos Gonatas as the smothetes (Athenaios 4.167F) and Habicht (Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit, Hypomnemata 73 [Göttingen 1982] 18–20, 54) argued that this was a special multi-year appointment. For more on his career, see Tracy 1994, 156–57.

²¹93 (1969) 56–71.

Atticarum, 2nd ed., ed. by G. Klaffenbach (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag 1948). The lettering, for example, is not as fine as that of IG II² 3835 (Kirchner-Klaffenbach no. 72) of the late fourth century; it is fairly close in style to the lettering of plate IX.2 in J. Marcadé, Recueil des signatures de sculpteurs grecs I (Paris: E. De Boccard 1953) of the first half of the third century B.C. But caution is needed for this latter may be the work of a Delphian cutter even though the base is signed by an Athenian artist.

²³ For the list of his works see D.L. 5.80.

²⁴ Diodoros 20.45.3, Plutarch *Demetrius* 8–10, Dion. Halik. *Din.* 2–3.

²⁵4.7.6.

time as "leading the Athenians as general" ('Aθηναίων στρατηγῶν) appears to be based on inference from the situation rather than on any solid evidence.

Demetrius' supposed military career, moreover, has prevented scholars from seeing the real terms imposed by Kassander on the Athenians in the year 317. He created two poles of power, one in Athens, one in the Piraeus, each with different missions. He granted the Athenians a measure of autonomy in their internal affairs by letting them "elect" a distinguished fellow citizen, namely Demetrius of Phalerum, as overseer (*epimeletes*) of the city. At the same time, he retained control by vesting all military power in his commandant stationed in Piraeus. This practice of creating a civil authority separate and distinct from the military was one that Alexander the Great had used to good effect in his recent campaigns in the East, particularly Asia Minor. Demetrius was the civilian leader; he had no jurisdiction whatever over the military. There is thus not only no evidence supporting the picture of him as the man on the horse, but Kassander's settlement, properly understood, was always positive evidence against it.

Was Demetrius' rule anti-democratic? Scholars have asserted that it was. Demetrius was elected in the year 317, at Kassander's behest, to an extraordinary office of overseer (*epimeletes*) for a year; it was in this capacity that he revised the laws of the city.²⁸ This was not unconstitutional at Athens—it was rather like the appointment of a special prosecutor in our own day. Indeed, as a student of Theophrastos, Demetrius was ideally suited to revising the law code.²⁹ Once this task was completed, though he was Kassander's acknowleged spokesman, he probably had no official position. He held, so far as we know, only one other office for the remainder of his so-called period of control—he was archon eponymous, the chief magistrate, chosen by lot, in the year 309/8.³⁰ These actions not only point to the retention of the democratic ma-

²⁶ Diodoros 18.74.3.

²⁷ W. W. Tarn, *The Cambridge Ancient History* VI (New York: MacMillan 1927) 370 and A. B. Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1988) 229–38.

²⁸ Diodoros 18.74.3; *IG* II² 1201 lines 11–12.

²⁹ Hard evidence bearing on the exact nature of his lawgiving is very sparse. See Michael Gagarin's discussion of this whole matter in the present collection. For an earlier point of view, see the influential article by St. Dow and A. H. Travis, "Demetrius of Phalerum and His Lawgiving," *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 144–65.

³⁰ Mar. Parium B line 24.

chinery of government, but even suggest some scruple with regard to the traditional archonships.

Scholars in the past have also claimed that Demetrius ended sortition and limited drastically the activities of the assembly. If that were the case, it would be more than enough to conclude that he was an enemy of the democracy. But the four decrees adduced as evidence that allotting of offices had been abandoned in Demetrius' time show nothing of the kind because studies by various scholars over the last 90 years have shown that not one of them dates to the time when Demetrius was in control.³¹ The assumption that the assembly and the council did not meet was based on the fact that we have almost no inscriptions from the time. But is that assumption a good, that is, a necessary one? No, it is not. We can postulate with equal probability that the assembly met regularly and that all that Demetrius did, as part of his well-attested measures to get the Athenian economy back in shape, was to curtail sharply the money available to pay for the inscribing of inscriptions.³²

The two decrees of the assembly that can with certainty be dated to his period of control, IG II² 450 and 453, reveal no unusual irregularities—one dates to the year 313, the other to 309; indeed, and very significantly, the chairman of the meeting and his fellow chairmen appear in the respective preambles of these decrees in their usual place. They were allotted by a subcommittee of the council (boule) in preparation for the meeting. The wording of these two decrees, in short, gives every reason to think that the assembly and council were meeting regularly.

What else do we learn about Demetrius and Athenian government at this time? We know that he lessened the means qualification necessary to participate as a citizen from 2000 to 1000 drachmas, i.e. that he actually expanded the citizen pool and opened up the process to more

³¹ IG II² 452 [328/7], 670 I, II [ca. 265], 454 [324/3] (Sundwall, De Institutis Reipublicae Atheniensium post Aristotelis Aetatem Commutatis, Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae 34 [1907] 11-12).

³² It would be a mistake to underestimate the losses of men and matériel incurred as a result of the Lamian War. The fleet which had numbered 392 triremes in 330/29 (*IG* II² 1627 line 269) was largely destroyed in the spring and summer of 322. Significant numbers of casualties also occurred both on land and sea. These losses to the Athenians must have been enormous and cannot have been easily made up in a few years. Demetrius, in short, inherited in the year 317 a city that had serious economic problems. While we are not in a position to reconstruct his policies to deal with these problems, it is no accident that many of his known actions deal with expenditures of money.

people, at least two to three times as many as the oligarchic regime which preceded him.³³ Moreover, the law courts, one of the most important vehicles for the people to exercise their sovereignty, were active. Indeed, Demetrius is reported to have increased the size of juries in impeachment (*eisangelia*) cases.³⁴ These are not the acts of an anti-democratic tyrant. His claims to have strengthened the democracy were not, in my judgment, empty rhetoric.

Where Athenian freedom of action was sharply limited was in foreign policy and military matters and this is, of course, in stark contrast to the fifth century. After the year 322, that is, after their defeat in the Lamian War, the harsh fact is that the Athenians had neither an army nor a navy of any note. The Macedonian commander in Piraeus had the final say concerning all military decisions. Nevertheless, the Macedonian military presence was not so onerous as to prevent some Athenians during the year 313 from trying to aid King Antigonos, Kassander's enemy. I think it fair to say that the Athenians at the time of Demetrius practiced democracy, had control of their internal affairs, and at least some even dared to meddle in foreign affairs.

But one might well object "What was Demetrius' precise role and is it not a sham to claim that the democratic institutions were functioning if in the end they had no real power, if in fact that power was invested in Demetrius?" Or it could be argued that of course he maintained the outward show of democracy but that in fact like some modern "peoples' democratic republics" his regime was very repressive. Was Demetrius, in short, a Quisling, a stooge of the Macedonians, who kept his fellow citizens subservient to the controlling power? No doubt the presence of the Macedonian garrison could have enabled him to play the tyrant. But, did he? I think not.

In at least one instance, and it is (I submit) a very significant one, he can be shown to have opposed the Macedonians on a matter related to military affairs. IG II² 1187, an inscription from the deme of Eleusis of the year 319/8, a year and a half roughly before Demetrius came to power, praises a prominent citizen who was general over the country-side for educating the young men of Eleusis. It has been cogently argued

³³ Diodoros 18.74.3.

³⁴ Pollux 8.53.

 $^{^{35}}$ Diodoros (19.78.4) reports that the Athenians at first in secret ($\lambda \alpha \theta \rho \alpha$) kept importuning King Antigonos to set them free and then, on the approach of Antigonos' general Ptolemaios, forced Demetrius to send envoys to the King about an alliance.

that he did this on the local level because the two-year course of military training for Athenian youths, known as the *ephebeia*, was no longer available to these young men.³⁶ It appears then that after the Athenian defeat in the Lamian War at the battle of Krannon in early August of 322, i.e. some five years before Demetrius came into the limelight, the victorious Macedonians had abolished military training for the young men of Athens. At some point under Demetrius this training was reinstated for we know of an ephebe (this is what an Athenian cadet was called) of the year 312³⁷ and probably also of a military instructor of the year 314/3.³⁸ Demetrius clearly took the initiative to do this and persuaded the Macedonians to acquiesce by agreeing to reduce the duration of the training from two years to one. His purpose must have been to create at least a small pool of citizens with some military preparedness. Surely we should credit him with taking an independent line here, one that placed the good of his city above the wishes of the Macedonians.

In short, the evidence, sparse though it is, suggests that Demetrius did not act illegally, that he did oppose the Macedonians from time-to-time, that he respected the traditional offices of the democracy, and that his fellow citizens enjoyed full powers in their domestic affairs. Whatever power he exercised (apart from the two official posts he held) was informal and accrued to him not just because he was Kassander's chosen representative, but also because of his recognized standing as a statesman, lawgiver, and diplomat. As the highly complimentary deme decree *IG* II² 1201 in his honor attests, his contemporaries, many of them, clearly valued him.

As a public figure, Demetrius was primarily a diplomat and a law-giver. In his private capacity, he was also a prominent student of philosophy and a very productive scholar/writer. Indeed, Diogenes Laertios describes him as nearly the most prolific of the Peripatetics.³⁹ As a further indication of his standing in the Peripatos, Diogenes appends Demetrius' life to the lives of the first four scholarchs, even though Demetrius was never head of the school.⁴⁰ There can be no

³⁶Fordyce Mitchel, "Derkylos of Hagnous and the Date of I.G., II², 1187," *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 346–48.

³⁷ IG II² 2323a lines 46-47.

³⁸ J. D. Morgan will argue in his forthcoming study of the Athenian calendar and the archon list that *IG* II² 585, a fragmentary decree in honor of a cadet instructor (paidotribes), belongs to this year.

³⁹DL. 5.80–81 where he also gives the titles of his works.

doubt then that Demetrius deserves to be taken very seriously as a philosopher and writer.⁴¹

Theophrastos, his teacher, had taken over as head of the Peripatos in 322 and with the help of Demetrius acquired his own garden, i.e. a place for his students to gather for discussions.⁴² Most probably Demetrius shepherded through the assembly a grant of enktesis on his behalf, for, as a metic, Theophrastos could not have acquired property without such a grant.⁴³ Be that as it may, Theophrastos remained in Athens under Demetrius and doubtless was available to his former student as an adviser, particularly on the lawcode. At what stage his massive work on the laws, his *Nomoi*, was at this time is unclear. It appears that he composed it either soon after taking over as head of the Peripatos or in the first years of Demetrius' rule, i.e. almost at the same time that Demetrius established his own laws.⁴⁴ In any case, Theophrastos was able to give ample advice on the subject.⁴⁵ Clearly, moreover, he and Demetrius were on good terms. Another of Demetrius' friends during this period was the comic poet Menander, the best playwright of the day. In fact, Menander probably staged the *Dyskolos* during the year 317/6, Demetrius' first year at the helm.⁴⁶ The evidence suggests that during his ten-year regency the Athenians very probably had in Demetrius a leader whose primary aspiration was to be their philosopher-king.

⁴⁰On this point, see M. G. Sollenberger, "The Lives of the Peripatetics: An Analysis of the Contents and Structure of Diogenes Laertius' 'Vitae philosophorum' Book 5," Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt 36.6 (Berlin: de Gruyter 1992) 3798–800.

⁴¹ For an assessment of Demetrius' writings, see section II of Hans Gottschalk's article in this volume.

⁴²D.L. 5.39.

⁴³On the privilege of enktesis, A. Harrison, The Law of Athens, I: The Family and Property (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1968) 236–38.

⁴⁴ The *Marmor Parium* (B line 16) records that "Demetrius established laws at Athens" when Demogenes was archon (317/6).

⁴⁵The Nomoi is 589 no. 17 FHS&G. See further A. Szegedy-Maszak, The "Nomoi" of Theophrastus (New York: Arno Press 1981), who discusses the date on pages 79 to 81 and explicitly characterizes Theophrastos' work on page 86 as "an encyclopedia for legislators, which could be consulted to insure that a prospective law was the best one available."

⁴⁶E. W. Handley, *The Dyskolos of Menander* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press 1965) 7; A. W. Gomme and F. H. Sandbach, *Menander: A Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1973) 128–29.

Not surprisingly, given his scholarly and literary accomplishments, we also find him taking a keen interest in state sponsored literary productions. Almost certainly he reformed public performances of plays and it has been inferred that he probably also did the same for the Homeric epics. The dramas of the three great tragedians, Aischylos, Sophokles, and Euripides, and the epics of Homer were, after all, the most important texts in the cultural heritage of the Athenians; the Homeric texts had been safeguarded, one might more accurately say "appropriated," for the city of Athens during the sixth century B.C. by no less a figure than Peisistratos and quite recently—about two decades earlier—Lykourgos had seen to the creation of state copies of the plays of the three great tragedians.⁴⁷

Demetrius, it appears, sought to emulate the example of his illustrious predecessors. He concerned himself in particular with the effective presentation of these fundamentally important texts to the Athenian public. By abolishing the liturgy known as the choregia and substituting pay for the chorus, he made dramatic performances fully professional.⁴⁸ This change had far-reaching positive effects for it hastened the creation of the guilds of Dionysiac artists at Athens and elsewhere. These became influential associations of professional actors who performed Athenian dramas all over the Greek-speaking world during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. And, on the basis of the report of Athenaios that "Demetrius of Phalerum first introduced those who are now called Homeristai into the theaters,"49 Greg Nagy in a recently published book entitled *Poetry as Performance: Homer and Beyond*⁵⁰ argues persuasively that Demetrius likewise reformed public performances of Homer in Athens and played a crucial role in the creation and dissemination of the so-called koine text of Homer. This text, really the Athenian city text, was fundamental to the work of the Alexandrian editors of Homer. Demetrius' serious interest in Homer is also revealed by the fact that he

⁴⁷ [Plutarch] Vit.XOrat. 841F.

⁴⁸The last attested choregic monuments, IG II² 3055 and 3056, date to 320/19; the first recorded agonothetes is Xenokles of Sphettos (Davies 1971, no. 11234) in 307/6 (IG II² 3073). See on this point A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, The Dramatic Festivals of Athens, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1968) 91–92 and R. Blum, Kallimachos: The Alexandrian Library and the Origins of Bibliography, trans. by H. H. Wellisch (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press 1991) 24.

⁴⁹ 14.620B.

⁵⁰Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995.

wrote a work in two books on the *Iliad* and another in four on the *Odyssey*.⁵¹

For a just appreciation of him, it is also meaningful to note that Demetrius retained his standing following his ouster from Athens. He was not disgraced or apparently even discredited for long. Although Cicero reports that he went to Alexandria soon after 307,⁵² it seems more likely that he chose to remain in nearby Thebes hoping for reinstatement by Kassander.⁵³ Most probably then his sojourn in Alexandria is to be placed after Kassander's death in 297.⁵⁴ Be that as it may, he played an important part in the intellectual life of that city. Indeed, it appears that the first Ptolemy took him as an adviser when he could not secure the services of Theophrastos, the head of the Peripatos.⁵⁵ He advised the king on the lawcode⁵⁶ and on his plans for what was to become the great library.⁵⁷

His influence on later letters may in fact have been far more profound than is usually suspected and than I have thus far suggested. (I am aware that I am entering onto very slippery ground, but proceed anyway.) The account in the letter of Aristeas that made Demetrius head of the library charged with collecting all the books in the world, even with translating books from the Hebrew,⁵⁸ is certainly late—ca. 100 B.C.—and fundamentally wrong on some important points.⁵⁹ To take but the most obvious—however much the first Ptolemy may have laid the groundwork for it, the library as an actual institution did not apparently come into being until the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphos. By then Demetrius was out of favor at court; he could not, therefore, have been

⁵¹ D.L. 5.81.

⁵²De Fin. 5.19.53.

⁵³Ch. Habicht, *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1985) 77–82, has shown that an inscribed lead tablet which names Demetrius along with Kassander and his brother Pleistarchos belongs to the year 304 when Kassander was besieging Athens. This suggests that the writer of the tablet believed Demetrius to be close by at the time, i.e. in neighboring Thebes not in distant Alexandria.

⁵⁴D.L. 5.78.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 37.

⁵⁶ Aelian V.H. 3.17; see also P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1972) 114–15.

⁵⁷ Plutarch *Moralia* 189D; Fraser 1972, 314–15, 690.

⁵⁸ The letter of Aristeas to Philokrates (Jacoby 1954, 228 T6e).

⁵⁹ Beginning with this sentence most of this paragraph and the next have been taken with slight alterations from my *Athenian Democracy in Transition* (above, n. 1) 50-51.

head of the library. Surely, however, Demetrius was active in some way in the efforts of the first Ptolemy to create a collection. The letter could well, therefore, preserve in exaggerated form a real memory of Demetrius' activities. He no doubt put together at least part of the collection that later became the great library. And he certainly saw to it that his own books and his own scholarly work found a place in the new collection. More importantly, it is *prima facie* extremely probable that he acquired *ca.* 295 B.C. or earlier copies of many of the works of Aristotle and Theophrastos. As a distinguished member of the Peripatos, he was unusually well-positioned to do exactly this.

If this is correct (and it must remain an hypothesis), the early history of Aristotle's works must be seen in a different light than heretofore. Previous discussion has tended to focus on the activities of one Neleus of Skepsis to whom Theophrastos left all his books at his death *ca*. 287 B.C.⁶¹ It is reported, I assume correctly, that the books of Aristotle were among Theophrastos' books.⁶² The ancient sources preserve two conflicting accounts about Neleus' handling of his legacy. One was that he took the books to Skepsis where after his death they lay moldering in a cellar until Apellikon of Teos brought them back to Athens early in the first century B.C.⁶³ The other was that he sold them to Ptolemy II Philadelphos for the library at Alexandria.⁶⁴ Whatever Neleus' exact role was,⁶⁵ it is significantly diminished in importance if we believe that, thanks to the activities of Demetrius of Phalerum, copies of many of the major Aristotelian treatises were already in Alexandria before the death of Theophrastos.⁶⁶ They were thus well-known in the Hellenistic period

⁶¹ D.L. 5.52. Theophrastos died either in the year 288/7 or 287/6.

⁶⁵On Neleus' activities, see H. B. Gottschalk, "Notes on the Wills of the Peripatetic Scholarchs," *Hermes* 100 (1972) 335–42 and C. Lord, "On the Early History of the Aristotelian Corpus," *AJP* 107 (1986) 137–61, esp. 138–45.

⁶⁰ Fraser 1972, 314–15.

⁶²The report occurs in Athenaios 1.3A–B and in Strabo 13.1.54. The will of Aristotle preserved in Diogenes Laertios (5.11–17) makes no provision for his books. There are two possible reasons: either the will is incomplete or the books had already been entrusted to Theophrastos.

⁶³ Strabo 13.1.54, Plutarch Sulla 26.1–2.

⁶⁴ Athenaios 1.3A–B.

⁶⁶Indeed, their presence may have acted as a catalyst to spur the agents of Ptolemy II to assemble in the library at Alexandria as complete a collection as possible of the works of Aristotle. Neleus may indeed have been approached by them and sold to them much of what he had. Thus it is quite possible that the very efforts of Demetrius to preserve the writings of his great master and his school brought it about that they

and some of them formed the basis for the work of the scholars of the library.

In conclusion, Demetrius surely deserves a better press than he has received—first, for his enlightened rule of Athens where he accomplished much that was positive and did the best he could for his fellow citizens in the difficult circumstances he faced; second, for his very important scholarly contributions, particularly his efforts to further, as well as preserve, the work of the Peripatos; finally, for his creation of the collection that formed the basis of the library at Alexandria. Alas, the bad luck that dogged him and thwarted a proper appreciation of his efforts in Athens continued in Alexandria. He became involved, probably he could not avoid it, in the machinations surrounding the succession to the throne of Egypt. He backed Ptolemy Keraunos, the son of Eurydike, Ptolemy's first wife and sister of his political mentor Kassander. When the future Ptolemy II Philadelphos, the son of Berenike, Ptolemy's second wife, emerged as the favorite around the year 285, Demetrius was soon disgraced, driven out of court, and died under mysterious circumstances. He was bitten, it is reported, by an asp.⁶⁷ In contrast to Demetrius Poliorketes and King Antigonos, who in the year 307/6 had been satisfied with a program of outrageous slander against Demetrius, the second Ptolemy appears to have been sufficiently angered by Demetrius' opposition to his succession that he ordered, to indulge an anachronism, systematic damnatio memoriae. We are in consequence forced to reconstruct Demetrius' role from late and derivative sources, such as the letter of Aristeas. Thus, though Demetrius was in truth de facto first head of the library and extremely influential in its founding, he never received credit in the official accounts.

were concentrated in the library at the time of the great fire and thus many works, including his own, were lost to posterity.

⁶⁷ D.L. 5.78, Suda Δ no. 429, Cicero Rab. Post. 9.23.



4

The Legislation of Demetrius of Phalerum and the Transformation of Athenian Law

Michael Gagarin

It is a curious irony that Athenian law, which is so well documented during the century from ca. 420–320 BC, becomes virtually invisible in the Hellenistic period. In his invaluable collection of the evidence for the Athenian courts, however, Boegehold gives a fair assessment of the evidence for legal procedure after 322, which, though not abundant, shows that the courts continued to sit and to use the same sort of equipment in the third century and later. Clearly, law and the courts did not simply disappear. Even if political figures no longer used the courts to advance their careers, litigation regarding family matters, economic affairs and criminal activity, to name just a few areas, must have continued; and yet virtually no record of any of this survives.²

¹ See Alan L. Boegehold, *The Lawcourts at Athens: Sites, Buildings, Equipment, Procedure, and Testimonia* (The Athenian Agora, vol. 28; The American School of Classical Studies: Princeton 1995) 41-42 and his testimonia nos. 93, 94, 95, 305, and 318.

² Even William Scott Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens: An Historical Essay* (London 1911) can only muster five references to "laws" in the index, one of which is to Plato's *Laws*. Of the others, three refer to Demetrius' legislation and the supposed revision after the end of his rule (for which, see below, n. 11), and the other is a reference to a

The only major figure associated with law and legislation in Athens after 320 is Demetrius of Phalerum, who presided over the city for a pivotal decade (317–307) and seems to have set the course for Athenian law for the next century and more. The aim of this paper is to review what we know of Demetrius' legislation and to assess what effect he and his legislation had on Athenian law and legal procedure during the period of his own rule and thereafter. Since the known facts are few, any conclusions reached about the purpose or effect of Demetrius' legislation must remain to some extent speculative.

1. Demetrius' Legislation: The Direct Evidence

In 317 BC the philosopher and former student of Theophrastus, Demetrius of Phalerum, became in effect the sole ruler of Athens, at least as regards internal affairs.³ His rule resulted from external political and military developments, which I need not review here. Early in his regime he was given the title ἐπιμελητής,⁴ and assumed the authority to write new laws for the city (IG II² 1201—see below 1). His economic, legal, and political reforms led to a period of peace and prosperity but at the cost of some of the more democratic features of Athenian public life. Indeed, the remaining democratic politicians in the city never accepted his rule, and in 307 he was replaced by Demetrius Poliorcetes. This change too was brought about primarily by external forces.

Several texts in the collection of Stork, van Ophuijsen and Dorandi supply evidence for Demetrius' legislation. They indicate that he certainly enacted some legislation, but we can only determine the substance of two or three laws, and we have no evidence that the legislation

[&]quot;revision of the laws" under Eurycleides, a century later, though there is no evidence of large-scale legislation at this time. See $IG II^2 834 (= IG II 379)$.

³ Stephen V. Tracy, Athenian Democracy in Transition: Attic Letter-cutters of 340 to 290 B.C. (Berkeley: University of California Press 1995) 36–51, and Christian Habicht, Athen: Die Geschichte der Stadt in hellenistischer Zeit (Munich: C. H. Beck 1995) 62–75 [= Athens from Alexander to Anthony (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1997) 53–66] provide the most recent surveys of Demetrius' rule. Habicht includes more discussion of Demetrius' motives and the political context of his reforms, but not all of his conclusions are persuasive.

⁴ S. Dow and A. H. Travis, "Demetrios of Phaleron and his Lawgiving," Hesperia 12 (1943) 144-65 mounted a case for restoring the title νομοθέτης in IG II² 1201, line 11. Their restoration is accepted by Phillip Harding, From the End of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Ipsus (Translated Documents of Greece and Rome 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985) no. 129, pp. 163-64; but see Tracy 1995, 43-46.

was comprehensive. In the section of his Life describing the decade of Demetrius' rule in Athens (5.75–85) Diogenes Laertius says nothing about laws or legislation. Diogenes does give titles of Demetrius' works, four of which (out of 45)⁵ appear to be concerned with legislation—Peri tās Athēnesi Nomothesias (5 books), Peri tōn Athēnesi politeiōn (2 books), Hyper tēs politeias, and Peri nomōn—but it is not clear whether in these Demetrius described his own laws or, like Theophrastus in his Nomoi, treated the laws of Athens and other cities largely without reference to his legislation.

The following texts either mention laws or legislation explicitly, or implicitly suggest features of Demetrius' legislation.

- (1) **16B** SOD = 12 W: *IG* II² 1201, dated to 317/6, honoring Demetrius reads in part, ἐπιμελητὴς αὶ]ρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμο[υ τοῦ ᾿Αθηναίων νόμους] ἔθ[η]κεν καλ[οὺς καὶ συμφέροντας τῷ πόλε]ι · ὕστερον [δέ . . . ⁶ ("having been elected overseer by the people of Athens, he enacted laws which are fine and beneficial to the city; and later . . .").
- (2) **20A** = 15 W: The Parian Marble (B 13) under 317/6: "Demetrius enacted laws (νόμους ἔθηκεν) for the Athenians."
- (3) **56** = 16 W: Cicero (*De re publica* 2.1.2) speaks of men "who organized their own government, each using his own laws and institutions (*suam quisque rem publicam constituisset legibus atque institutis suis*), among whom he includes the Athenians Theseus, Draco, Solon, Cleisthenes and many others and finally "when it was prostrate and already dying, it was restored by the learned man from Phalerum, Demetrius" (*postremo exsanguem iam et iacentem doctus vir Phalerus sustentasset Demetrius*).
- (4) **20B**, **58A** = 17 W: Syncellus (an eighth-century Byzantine monk) says that Demetrius "became known as the third lawgiver (τρίτος νομοθέτης) of Athens."
- (5) 52 = 32 W: Pollux (8.102) reports about the Eleven that "in the time of the Phalerean their name was changed to *Nomophylakes*."

⁵There is some duplication in these titles (e.g., *Peri nomōn* is listed a second time) and in some cases different titles may designate the same work.

⁶I give in bold type the number of the new edition (SOD), followed by the number of Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles* IV: Demetrios von Phaleron (Basel 1949). The supplements are uncontroversial except for ἐπιμελητής, for which see above, n. 4. the stone breaks off after ὕστερον.

- (6) **43A–B** = 34 W: Athenaeus (542d), citing (not necessarily quoting) Demetrius' contemporary, the historian Duris, gives a catalogue of Demetrius' vices and concludes that he "who was laying down laws (τιθέμενος θεσμούς) for other people and regulating their lives, organized his own life with utter freedom from the law."
- (7) **53** = 135 W: Cicero (*De legibus* 2.64–66) reports that Demetrius wrote that although Solon restrained extravagance in mourning and burial, these later increased to the point that Demetrius himself restrained this practice by law (*lege*), and (Cicero continues) "he limited expenses not just by imposing a penalty (*poena*) but also by setting a time (*tempore*): he ordered (*iussit*) that burials were to take place before the light of day. Moreover, he set a limit to new sepulchers: he did not wish to have anything erected above the mound of earth except a small column, not more than three cubits high, or a table or basin, and he appointed a magistrate specifically to look after this."
- (8) **96A** = 141a W: Pollux 8.53: "1,000 judged *eisangeliai* according to Solon; an additional 500 according to (Demetrius) of Phalerum."
- **96B** = 141b W: Lex Cant. 337: "those attacking sycophants brought an eisangelia, when, as Philochorus says, there were 1,000 (jurors) seated, but Demetrius of Phalerum (says) there were 1,500."
- (9) **97** = 144 W: Lex. Cant. 350: Demetrius says "some defendants in cases of arbitration use fraudulent means (κακοτεχνεῖν) against the plaintiffs by moving to get the judgment by default declared null and void and thus obtain a rehearing of the case. For those involved in litigation of more than ten drachmas are obliged to get arbitrators for each separate case.... Some people who have a weak case to defend and are frightened of a judgment against them in the arbitration, cause delays and make excuses such as seem to be reasonable; first they file a paragraphê [a counter-suit alleging the case is inadmissible], next they swear affidavits about (their) illness or absence abroad, and finally they do not appear in court on the day appointed for the arbitration; that way they can get the judgment by default declared null and void for the party who had got the conviction and thus obtain a rehearing of the case, with the result that they would be back at their starting point with the litigation undecided."

⁷On the details of these restrictions, see most recently Rudolf H. W. Stichel, "Columella—Mensa—Labellum: Zur Form der attischen Grabmäler im Luxusgesetz des Demetrios von Phaleron," Archäologischer Anzeiger (1992) 433–40.

We learn from these sources that Demetrius enacted legislation (1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7), in the first year of his rule (1), concerning the government (3, 5), people's personal lives (6) and in particular burial practices (7), and apparently enacted some procedural reforms (5, 8, 9). It is not clear whether these last three items refer to actual legislation, but the change of name (5) may suggest new duties (but see below), the report in 8 implies that Demetrius raised the number of jurors from 1,000 to 1,500 in an eisangelia, and the description of legal abuses in 9 may have been intended to explain or justify Demetrius' own, reforming legislation. Other texts⁸ concerning Demetrius' writings about law and government appear to be purely descriptive and probably had no direct connection with his own legislation.

The meagerness of this evidence for Demetrius' legislation has inspired some scholars to look elsewhere for clues to Demetrius' legislative activity. Most notably, William Scott Ferguson undertook to fill many of the gaps in our picture of Demetrius' legislation, devoting a 12-page paper¹⁰ and much of his more than fifty-page chapter on Demetrius (above, n. 2, 38–94) to his legal reforms. Ferguson was convinced that Demetrius enacted an entirely new set of laws for Athens,¹¹ and he paints a full and colorful picture, explaining not only what laws

⁸ 1, 13B, 19, 89, 95, 98–101, 110, 115–17, 156, 164 = 131–4, 136–40, 143, 145–8 W.

⁹ It is possible, however, that Demetrius' complaints about high expenditures on the production of dramas or public works (110, 115 = 137, 136 W) was intended to justify his own reforms of these practices.

¹⁰ William Scott Ferguson, "The Laws of Demetrius of Phalerum and their Guardians," *Klio* 11 (1911) 265–76.

^{11 &}quot;The entire code was promulgated in 316/5," according to Ferguson (above, n. 2) 43. Ferguson's date stems from his assessment of opol or boundary stones (above, n. 10, 265-67), which has been refuted by Moses I. Finley, Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens, 500-200 B.C. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press 1952), esp. 177-81 (see further below). Ferguson supports his idea that Demetrius enacted a code of laws by misremembering (?) a passage in Polybius (12.13.9–12) that discusses Demochares, a political opponent of Demetrius. Ferguson (above, n. 2) 103 translates a direct quotation of Polybius' report of Demochares' criticisms of Demetrius, and the translation is reasonably accurate until the last two sentences. These read, "And a fine set of laws this blondined Solon had drawn up. Let them be revised at once." From these two sentences, which contain the only mention of laws in the whole passage, Ferguson concludes both that Demetrius promulgated a law code and also that right after he was removed from power, "a revision of the law code was, accordingly, begun." The conclusion might be acceptable, except for the fact that these last two sentences correspond to nothing in the Greek text, either in this section or anywhere else in Polybius, as far as I can determine. The case for Demetrius' law code (and its repeal) thus appears to be a figment of Ferguson's imagination.

Demetrius enacted but why. In speaking of laws governing contracts and wills, for instance, he tells us that "the purpose of Demetrius in making these changes is obvious. It was to protect the Athenian men of means, whose welfare he made it the avowed purpose of all his legislation to promote, in investing their money in Athenian real estate" (above, n. 10, 268).

Ferguson's reconstruction may appear plausible at first, and some later scholars¹² have accepted and even expanded it; but on closer examination it cannot be sustained. One of Ferguson's methods is to find a practice or a rule supposedly in effect after Demetrius' time for which there is no good evidence before Demetrius and then conclude that he enacted legislation on the matter. I need not demonstrate the weaknesses of this method in detail, since Finley, in his Columbia dissertation, showed the fallacies in Ferguson's reconstruction of Demetrius' laws on sale and gifts, and Gehrke has done much the same for several other points.¹³ What we are left with in terms of actual legislation is not much. I leave aside constitutional and administrative reforms, such as the change in financial requirements for political participation and the reform of certain administrative bodies, since these probably were effected by means other than legislation; similarly, the abolition of liturgies did not necessarily require the enactment of any laws.¹⁴

For legislation in the strict sense we have only the testimonia assembled above. These indicate a general concern with sumptuary legislation, but only in the case of funerals and funerary monuments do we have good evidence for specific changes. In addition, it seems likely that Demetrius created or more likely reconstituted, perhaps by means of legislation, the boards of *Gynaikonomoi* to oversee women's activities and *Nomophylakes* to oversee religious and political activity. And that's about it. It has been claimed that along with his constitutional reforms Demetrius made changes in legal procedure, but as Gehrke concludes, "We have no information that Demetrius radically reduced the activity and competence of the popular courts" (1978, 154). Although "radically" may beg the question, Gehrke is essentially correct to see

¹² E.g., Dow and Travis (above, n. 4).

¹³ Finley (above, n. 11); Hans-Joachim Gehrke, "Das Verhältnis von Politik und Philosophie im Wirken des Demetrios von Phaleron," *Chiron* 8 (1978) 149–93.

¹⁴ See also Robert W. Wallace, *The Areopagus Council to 307 B.C.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 1989) 204–6, for Demetrius' reforms that affected the Areopagus.

Demetrius' reforms of legal procedure as minor. Even if, for example, Demetrius raised the number of jurors required to decide an *eisangelia* from 1000 to 1500, this in itself would not have significantly altered the use of this procedure. If the use of *eisangelia* did decline—and the evidence suggests that it did—this was probably the result of political changes not legal reform. Similarly, although raising the financial requirement for citizenship may have altered the composition of the jury, there is no evidence that jury-pay was abolished (though many scholars assume it was), ¹⁵ and the composition of the jury and the process by which it reached a verdict probably remained essentially the same.

Similarly, the *Nomophylakes* supplemented the activity of the courts, and may have rendered some of the litigation against the public activities of citizens unnecessary, but the structure and prerogatives of the courts, and the rules governing the judicial process, appear to have remained essentially the same. It is generally assumed, even by Gehrke (above, n. 12, 154), that Demetrius set aside the *graphē paranomōn*, since the duty of objecting to undesirable new laws was now in the hands of the *Nomophylakes*. But even if it is true that individuals no longer brought suits under the *graphē paranomōn*, the law itself may have remained in effect, for it was used in 306 by Philo, as Diogenes tells us (5.38), in his successful prosecution of Sophocles for his law banning the philosophers from Athens. Moreover, the *Nomophylakes* were probably established several years before Demetrius, and we have no evidence that their duties were substantially different in his time. 17

Thus, although Demetrius must have enacted some laws, it seems clear that he did not engage in full-scale legislation on the model of Solon. His reputation was probably based on his political and constitutional reforms more than his legal reforms, and these could have been spoken of as changes in *nomoi*, even if they did not involve legislation. Cicero's phrase is perhaps more accurate, when he speaks of men orga-

¹⁵ See James M. Williams, "The Peripatetic School and Demetrius of Phaleron's Reforms in Athens," *Ancient World* 15 (1987) 87–98, at 95 n. 26.

¹⁶ It is possible that the *graphē paranomōn* was abolished by Demetrius and then restored immediately after he left office; but if so, the restoration would be a noteworthy event, especially in connection with the prosecution of Sophocles that followed soon after, and we might expect Diogenes to mention it.

¹⁷ Wallace (abve, n. 14, 202-3) is inclined to date the change "shortly after 322." The report in Pollux (5) that the Eleven were renamed *Nomophylakes* "in the time of the Phalerean" does not provide strong evidence against Wallace's conclusion.

nizing their states *legibus atque institutis*. It is also significant that Cicero includes among the great reformers of Athens Theseus and Cleisthenes, neither of whom is traditionally associated with large-scale legislation, as Draco and Solon are. Even Demetrius' constitutional changes were perhaps not as far-reaching as some later writers seem to think. His franchise requirement of 1,000 drachmas, for instance, was only half as large as that imposed briefly by Phocion five years earlier. The requirement is not insignificant, but it seems doubtful that it would have led to such a substantial difference in the composition of jurors as to change the legal process.

2. Peripatetic Influence on Demetrius' Legislation

Whatever one's ultimate assessment of his rule, Demetrius exemplifies the rare combination of intellectual and statesman who is successful in both spheres. As a result, the relation between his legislation and the views on law and legislation expressed by him and others with whom he associated has long interested scholars, who have devoted much attention to finding connections between these two aspects of Demetrius' accomplishment. Much of Ferguson's Klio article on Demetrius' laws (above, n. 10) is devoted to showing the influence of Theophrastus. His method is to quote liberally from the work of the latter (though only once from his Nomoi) and then claim that since Demetrius legislated in the same general area, he was influenced by Theophrastus. 18 Gehrke has thoroughly examined and rejected most of Ferguson's conclusions, showing that most of the measures attributed to Demetrius are attested in Greece at the time of Demetrius or earlier, so that it is unnecessary to posit any direct philosophical influence. Demetrius was motivated by practical rather than philosophical concerns, Gehrke argues; his reforms

W (= Cicero De Leg. 3.14) to the effect that "Demetrius, a student of Theophrastus, brought learning out of the shady abodes . . . of the erudite . . . into the very battle line of strife," from which he concludes that Theophrastus' influence was "far-reaching and potent." He then cites a passage, probably from Peri methēs (579A FHS&G; see Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, The Nomoi of Theophrastus [Arno Press 1981] 89), where Theophrastus reports a Massilian law that women should drink water, not wine and concludes, "the author of the well-known legislation on the public and private behavior of women . . . need not have gone back to Aristotle's Politics to find a justification for coercing the suffragettes of his city. A policy such as his was impressed upon the ideal lawgiver in the treatise of Theophrastus" (Ferguson, above, n. 10, 269).

were minimal and were primarily aimed at reducing expenses, so that he could later claim to have corrected the democracy.¹⁹

The differences between Ferguson and Gehrke are partly a matter of how strictly one defines philosophical influence. Ferguson is looking for any connection, however loose, between theory and practice whereas Gehrke's criterion is direct influence amounting almost to causation—"a logical unity (ein logische Einheit)," of theory and practice. But even if we accept a broad sense of "influence," Gehrke's minimalist and (I think) accurate assessment of the evidence for Demetrius' legislation means that on many points where Ferguson finds influence, it is doubtful that Demetrius even legislated.

Aristotle remarks (*Nic. Eth.* 10.9, 1181b6–23) that a legislator should draw from the laws of others but must also apply his intelligence and understanding to the process of selection. Demetrius clearly took this advice to heart. He undoubtedly knew well the philosophers' views of law and government and must have been familiar with the practical and detailed compilations of laws and practices recorded in the 150 or so Aristotelian *Politeiai* and in Theophrastus' *Nomoi* and various other works. He may have drawn on some or all of these sources but there is no indication that he followed any one of them closely.

To be sure, Demetrius' rule was in some sense aristocratic, at least in contrast to the period immediately preceding, and in this respect can be seen to derive from the generally aristocratic (or at least anti-democratic) views of Plato, Aristotle and others. But although measures like his institution of a property requirement for political participation or the abolition of the liturgies were clearly aristocratic, Demetrius seems to have considered himself a preserver of democracy (18 = fr. 26 W), and many of his legal reforms cannot be easily labeled. Take, for example, his sumptuary legislation. Similar legislation was enacted by Solon²⁰ and others throughout Greece,²¹ and may perhaps be best explained as

¹⁹ Williams (above, n. 15) has recently argued for a position somewhat in the middle: although we may not have evidence of specific borrowing, Demetrius' reforms coincide, at least in general, with the criticisms of Athenian democracy made by Plato, Aristotle, and others. Habicht (above, n. 3, 67) seems to approve of Williams' position.

²⁰ Demetrius apparently treated his own and Solon's sumptuary legislation in the same work (no. 7 in sec. 1 above).

²¹ A recent example for Demetrius might have been Lycurgus, who is reported to have enacted legislation "that no woman should travel to Eleusis in a carriage" (Plut. *Mor.* 842a).

an attempt to foster the growth of communal spirit in burial and other rituals through the archaic and classical periods and to lessen the individualism associated with aristocratic competition.²² If this is true Demetrius may have been trying to resist a trend toward withdrawal from public life, especially among the rich, for which we see evidence in other areas, such as comedy.

In sum, Demetrius' reforms and Peripatetic legal and political theory may loosely be classified as "conservative," and both were evidently critical of some, though by no means all, aspects of fourth-century Athenian democracy; however, most of their specific remedies were not unique to the Peripatetics but (as Gehrke points out) could be found in practice in other cities or in earlier Athenian legislation. The evidence suggests that Demetrius' reforms were not aimed at revolutionary change (as in 411 or 404) and did not constitute a large-scale political assault on democracy. Rather he drew ideas from a wide range of writings and practices in order to devise specific legislation for a limited number of problems. In carrying out these reforms he may have evoked the example of Solon,²³ who (we should remember) claimed to have stood between the rich and the poor, giving undue advantage to neither (fr. 5 West).

3. The Transformation of Athenian Law under Demetrius

Scholars who have sought to explain the political tenor of Demetrius' legislation have seldom asked how the legal system actually functioned under Demetrius. We have no extant examples of forensic oratory after 322, but we know that at least one logographer, Dinarchus, continued to write forensic speeches under Demetrius (see below).²⁴ There is evidence that substantive law remained more or less the same in most ar-

²² See most recently Richard Seaford, *Reciprocity and Ritual: Homer and Tragedy in the Developing City-State* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1994) 74–86. Habicht (above, n. 3, 65) sees Demetrius' sumptuary legislation as arising from an aristocratic view that no individual should outdo others of his class. This seems just as implausible as attributing the legislation to democratic ideology.

²³ If Demetrius himself used the archaic term *thesmoi* for his laws rather than *nomoi* (no. 6 in sec. 1 above), this was probably meant to recall the legislation of Draco and Solon, and the same can be said of the tag "third law-giver" (no. 4 in sec. 1 above) if in fact he used or approved of it.

²⁴ See also the evidence in Boegehold (above, n. 1).

eas,²⁵ as did most legal procedure. But it also appears that in practice Athenian law underwent a fundamental transformation. Before examining this transformation, we must briefly review some features of law and forensic oratory that made the Athenian legal system in the classical period one of the most unusual the world has ever known.²⁶

First, the Athenians in the classical period shunned professionalism in law, as they did in government in general. Different magistrates, selected by lot and serving short terms (usually a year), oversaw the conduct of a trial, but they had little authority and did not control or direct the proceedings, as a modern judge would. Statutes designated offenses in ordinary language and no authority established the legal definition of an offense. The nearest thing to a trained professional was the logographer who could write a speech for a litigant and probably give him advice on his case as well, but had no independent authority and played no role in the actual trial. Finally, there was no legal scholarship of the sort we find in Rome and most other societies with developed legal systems. None of the works of Plato, Aristotle, or Theophrastus provides any direct analysis of or guidance in understanding the nature and function of the Athenian legal system, and none of these would help a litigant prepare his case or guide a juror in deciding it.

As a result, the function of a trial in the classical period was not merely, as it is today (at least in theory), to determine objectively whether the facts of the case fit the specific requirements of the relevant statutes. Rather, a trial in Athens was a contest $(ag\bar{o}n)$ between two parties, who engaged in verbal dispute before a large number of jurors who, for the most part, were ordinary citizens. A legal $ag\bar{o}n$ might draw a crowd of spectators, for the conflicting stories told by the litigants regularly raised issues of interest to the community at large; and in some well-known cases major policy decisions were made or confirmed by jurors in the courts. Even cases with no overt political interest regularly displayed stories of individuals who were also public figures. Sometimes we can see evidence of the political dimension of an apparently non-political case in the speech itself (e.g., Lys. 7); even where there is no clear evidence (as, e.g., Lys. 3) we may suspect that the case forms

²⁵ See Adele Scafuro, *The Forensic Stage* (Cambridge: Cambride University Press 1997) 14–16..

²⁶ The best single work on these features of Athenian law is Stephen Todd, *The Shape of Athenian Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1993).

part of a long-standing dispute that has a political dimension. In short, little effort was made to remove political concerns from the legal system, a fact that troubles most modern scholars but seems to have been taken for granted and even welcomed by the Athenians.

The entanglement of law and politics also meant politically ambitious citizens might bring a legal case in order to advance their own careers,²⁷ and in some cases one can read a whole history of political struggle among various participants of which the case at hand is only the latest step. In this way, as some scholars are now realizing, the legal system may have fostered conflict between individuals as much as it helped resolve conflict.²⁸ Thus, it is not surprising that when the works of the best orators later began to be collected, the list was dominated by public figures, especially after 350. Of course, purely private suits continued to be brought to court and argued by the litigants, some of whom undoubtedly still went to a logographer for a speech or just for advice; but the best speakers, it appears, were more concerned with their own public careers.

After 320, it is clear that the political landscape changed drastically. Although Athens still to a large extent controlled its internal affairs, political prominence was attained by one's allegiance to non-Athenian ruling powers, not by one's performance in the public arena. We would expect that legal practice would change accordingly, and indeed, our evidence, sparse as it is, suggests that although the rules and procedures remained largely the same, litigation had lost its political dimension and therefore its appeal to those with political ambition. All the prominent orators and logographers were dead except for Dinarchus, who (not coincidentally) was the only non-Athenian orator/logographer at the time.

As a metic, and thus unable to participate in litigation himself, Dinarchus continued to practice logography after 320 and, we are told, amassed a fortune during the time of Demetrius.²⁹ With Demetrius'

²⁷ This motive, of course, is not unknown today. Indeed, the actual practice of law today, at least in the U.S., is much closer to Athenian practice than legal theory deems proper.

²⁸ See Lin Foxhall, "The Law and the Lady: Women and Legal Proceedings in Classical Athens," in *Greek Law in its Political Setting: Justifications Not Justice*, edited by Lin Foxhall and A. D. E. Lewis, 133–52 (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1996); David Cohen, *Law, Violence and Community in Classical Athens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995).

²⁹ The main source for Dinarchus' life is the essay by Dionysius of Halicarnassus;

overthrow, Dinarchus was, or felt, threatened, because of his association with Demetrius or his great wealth or both, and so he sold his property, moved to Chalcis, and continued his practice, making even more money there.³⁰ Dionysius includes a catalogue of his speeches. Among the genuine speeches are 27 written for public cases and 32 for private cases. None of the private speeches survives, but we have one entire public speech and a substantial part of two others, all three written for the Harpalus affair in 324/3. Of the remaining public speeches more than half concern public figures who were active primarily before 320 and for the rest we have no indication of a date. The only private speech that can be dated is his suit against Proxenus, his host during a visit to Athens after his exile had ended in 292/1. Despite the large number of undated speeches, these figures suggest that until about 320 Dinarchus made his career primarily, though perhaps not exclusively, in the public sphere, and that after that date he concentrated on private cases, from which he grew rich. It appears that he had made a name for himself as a talented orator in public cases, and when these were no longer available to him, he reaped the benefit of his skills and of his Corinthian citizenship in the private sphere.

Dinarchus' career indicates that Athenian law continued to be used in much the same way as earlier: people still sued each other for contract violations or injuries suffered and still engaged logographers to assist them. But other literary evidence may suggest that the rich, especially, were making less use of the legal system, or at least were less engaged in litigation. Some support for this conclusion can be can be found in the contrast between the relatively large role litigation plays in the *Characters* of Theophrastus and the absence of litigation from the plays of Menander. Of Theophrastus' thirty sketches,³¹ fourteen mention participation in or include remarks about the legal process.³² For example, when the Garrulous Man (*lalos*, 7) serves on a jury, they have trouble

see also Ian Worthington, A Historical Commentary on Dinarchus: Rhetoric and Conspiracy in Later Fourth-Century Athens (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 1992) 3–12.

³⁰ He may have continued to write for Athenian courts even while living in Chalcis.

³¹ Luse Jeffrey Rusten's text and translation of the Characters (Loeb Classical)

³¹ I use Jeffrey Rusten's text and translation of the *Characters* (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1993).

³² 1.2, 5.3, 6.8, 7.7, 8.11, 11.6, 12.5, 12.13, 13.3, 14.3, 17.8, 24.4, 26.5, 27.9, 29.2, 29.4a–5. These include several references to formal arbitration, which was part of the legal system.

reaching a verdict;³³ the Absent-minded Man (anaisthētos, 14) forgets to show up for his trial; the Griper (mempsimoiros, 17) criticizes his logographer even when he has won a unanimous verdict; and the Authoritarian (oligarchikos, 26) complains about all the troubles he faces from sycophants in court. These sketches and others suggest that litigation plays a significant role in the lives of their characters, and more generally that litigation was a significant feature of the lives of many Athenians at the time.³⁴

The *Characters* were written around 319 and thus portray life in the 320s. They show citizens engaged in the same sort of activities, including litigation, that we see in other sources for life in the fourth century, particularly oratory. Few of the plays of Menander can be dated precisely: his first production was around 321, his first victory may have come in 316, and he continued writing comedy until his death in 292. He particularly flourished under Demetrius, and we can thus take the last two decades of the fourth century as the historical background for most of his plays. As we shall see, despite their closeness in time, Menander presents a significantly different picture of legal activity from Theophrastus, a difference that arguably is related to historical changes. Of course, there are significant generic differences between the two author's work, but the same contrast is evident if we set Menander against Aristophanes, who never tired of finding humor in Athenian litigation.³⁵

By contrast, although Athenian law plays a role in many of Menander's comedies, it seems always to remain in the background. The Sicyonian is set in the context of an earlier case that was lost and for which money is now owed, and the plot of Aspis depends on Athenian laws regulating the marriage of "heiresses" and family law in general. But litigation is essentially absent from these plays and from the rest of Menander. Despite the importance of law for the plot of Aspis, for instance, no one in the play seriously contemplates litigation, though at one point Smicrines rejects a proposal, asking rhetorically, "and so I'll give him the girl and then if a son is born I'll be sued for taking his

³³ Athenian jurors did not have to discuss or agree on a verdict; they simply voted. Apparently the Garrulous Man talked so much, presumably as they were coming forward to cast their votes, that the jurors were too distracted to vote.

³⁴ To the extent that we can distinguish, most of the legal activity involves private cases; there is one reference to a public case (29.2).

³⁵ And not just in the *Wasps*; see Todd 1993, 148–50.

property?" (271–73). Similarly, the pimp in Kolax fears he may have to go to court if someone abducts his girl (132), but as far as we know he never does; the slave Syros in Epitrepontes threatens to take everyone to court if he does not get his way (401–2); and Polemon in $Perikeiromen\bar{e}$ is advised to lodge a complaint ($\tilde{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\lambda\eta\mu\alpha$, 500–3). But all these legal actions are hypothetical, and there is no actual litigation or serious threat of litigation in any of the surviving fragments. The only quasi-legal scene is the informal arbitration from which Epitrepontes derives its name, but this is not part of, or a prelude to, litigation. Moreover, the arbitration settles a dispute between two slaves over possession of a baby's trinkets; Menander's stage is full of rich men with elaborate business dealings, but none of them is involved in litigation and there is no sense that litigation is important in their lives.

The impression we get from these sources (inadequate though they are) is that although formal legal procedures continue to be available for all, there is a considerable decrease in their use after about 320, especially by the rich. Is there anything in the reforms of Demetrius that may plausibly have helped produce such a change? The evidence for specific changes set forth at the beginning of this paper does not help us here. New sumptuary legislation, even if more far-reaching than our evidence indicates, can hardly have affected litigation in general; nor can the increase in the number of jurors in an *eisangelia*. We may speculate, however, that Demetrius' reforms, combined with some of the larger political forces at work at the time, may have affected the practice of litigation in important ways.

Two reasons for any reduction in the amount of litigation need to be considered: the removal of incentives to litigate and the removal of the need to do so. One major incentive for using the courts, the power and prestige litigation could bring, disappeared before Demetrius' rule began, when the loss of Athenian independence made power in the city dependent on external forces. After 322 it became clear that success or failure in the courts made little difference to one's political fate. All the major orators were exiled or dead except Dinarchus, who as a metic had no opportunity for political power in Athens and thus continued to write forensic speeches. As far as we can tell, the same legal procedures were still available, but there was no longer any reason to bring, say, a graphē paranomōn against a rival, since victory would not advance one's career

³⁶ It is not clear whether this would be a formal legal accusation.

but defeat might harm it.³⁷ This would hold also for private cases, many of which had earlier had a public dimension or motivation. The rich no longer saw any advantage in public competition, whether this took the form of litigation or of competition in the performance of liturgies or other sorts of public display. And thus, the peculiar Athenian symbiosis of broad-based democratic political power and aristocratic competition for individual honor³⁸ came to an end.

Under Demetrius, it appears, citizens avoided litigation and turned to their own private businesses, which flourished in a strong economy. We may perhaps assume that they brought litigation from time to time, but only when necessary.³⁹ One virtue of classical Athenian law, as Todd has recently emphasized (1993, 77–78), was that it was cheap. The city paid a subsistence allowance for jurors and a couple of functionaries were needed for trials, but it cost almost nothing to bring a suit or defend oneself, unless, of course, one wished to pay for the help of a logographer. But litigation could be quite expensive for the rich, who might need not only to pay logographers and other advisers and to devote much of their own time to litigation, but also to pay the heavy fines that might be assessed. Without the incentive of power and prestige, many cases would no longer be worth bringing.

The second cause of the reduction of litigation, the removal of the need, is more directly attributable to Demetrius. His good financial management is generally recognized,⁴⁰ and two measures in particular benefited the rich: peace brought the reduction of expenditures on military forces and an increase in revenues from trade; and the burden of liturgies was eliminated. The new sumptuary legislation reduced com-

³⁷ To judge from the surviving evidence, all cases of *graphē paranomōn* had a political dimension in addition to whatever legal point they were based on; see Harvey Yunis, "Law, Politics, and the *Graphe Paranomon* in Fourth-Century Athens," *GRBS* 29 (1988) 361–82.

³⁸ For which see Josiah Ober, *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1989; Cohen 1995.

³⁹ We might note, however, a possible parallel in late Roman Egypt: after about 500 AD use of the courts ceases almost completely and to our knowledge all disputes are settled privately (cf. the private settlement in *Epitrepontes*). The reasons for this are unclear, and to the extent that cost may be a factor, the situation may not provide a good parallel for Athens. See Trianos Gagos and Peter van Minnen, *Settling a Dispute: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Late Antique Egypt*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 1994), esp. 40–6.

⁴⁰ See, e.g. Claude Mossé, La tyrannie dans la Grèce antique (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France 1969), esp. 155-66.

petition among the rich in another area; and although the details of Ferguson's speculations about contracts and wills must be rejected (see above), it is not impossible that Demetrius laid down some new rules for financial transactions that removed potential areas of conflict and generally made business dealings more efficient.

This brings us to the broader sense in which philosophical considerations may have influenced Demetrius' legislation. Legal historians and jurists generally consider classical Athenian law to be unsystematic and disorderly to the point of chaos. As speakers themselves note, several different procedures with quite different penalties were often available for prosecution of a given offense, and the vagueness of statutes and the complete autonomy of jurors put the burden of a case on the individual speakers, who had wide leeway in trying to influence the verdict. No philosopher, ancient or modern, could be happy with this, except perhaps a follower of Heraclitus (whose remark that δίκη is ἔρις would be an accurate characterization of classical Athenian law). Plato, who witnessed one result of this system in the execution of his teacher Socrates,⁴¹ creates a highly precise and systematic set of laws in implicit reaction to the Athenian system, and at several points in his Nomoi Theophrastus seems to imply that improvements could be made to Athenian law. The long fragment quoted by Stobaeus on contracts, for example (650 FHS&G), includes much more detail than the relevant Athenian statute would have had in the classical period. Thus, the fourth-century philosophers appear to agree that there should be greater precision and order in legislation, and this conceptual goal may have helped shape some of the rules enacted by Demetrius.

It is unlikely, however, that Demetrius followed Theophrastus (in the fragment just cited) or Plato in categorizing crimes according to mental states. In practice the inclusion of mental states in the definitions of offenses would only create more opportunity for someone wishing to bring litigation and would give more power to the jurors, who in Athens were ordinarily confronted only with broad distinctions between intentional and unintentional but would now have to decide more difficult questions concerning rationality and justice. It is hard to imagine that in

 $^{^{41}}$ Demetrius also wrote an *Apology of Socrates*, but the surviving fragments (102–91–98 W) give no indication of Demetrius' view of the Athenian legal system.

⁴² Athenian law did, however, provide that the maker of a will needed to be mentally competent and not under the influence of a woman.

his effort to make the law more advantageous for the middle class Demetrius would wish to enact a measure that would effectively increase the use of the courts and grant greater power to juries.⁴³

Classical Athenian law was unusual in its freedom from the systematic guidance of jurists and legal philosophers. The revision of the laws between 410 and 403 was intended only to bring some degree of order to provisions that had been enacted over the course of two centuries. Nicomachus and his colleagues were supposed to delete laws that were no longer in effect or that conflicted with other laws; they were not charged with enacting new legislation, let alone enacting more systematic legislation. The principle of organization they apparently followed was that laws were grouped according to the magistrate in charge, which still left diverse subjects treated side-by-side. After 403 new legislation had to be approved by a board of nomothetai, but there is no indication that they did more than examine each proposed law for conflicts with existing laws. Under Demetrius the Athenians for the first time had an intellectual in charge of legislation. It would have been reasonable for him to take a few steps, at least, toward making Athenian law more orderly.

4. After Demetrius

In 307 with the defeat of Cassander, the other Demetrius, later titled Poliorcetes, took over as ruler of Athens. Demetrius of Phalerum was exiled and "democracy" (after a fashion) was restored. Many of the previous reforms, such as the abolition of the liturgies, remained in effect under the new regime, but a board of *nomothetai* was instituted to propose new laws. These recommended some new laws, including one banning philosophical schools that (as already mentioned) was repealed not long afterwards; but there is no good evidence that the new regime began, or even contemplated, "a revision of the law code" (as Ferguson terms it).⁴⁴ The *nomothetai* probably did nothing more than propose whatever new laws seemed to them desirable, and as far as we can tell, the legal system remained pretty much the same. There was a brief period of political competition among individuals—Demochares, Stratocles, and others—reminiscent of the period before 322, but it soon

⁴³ Cf. the remarks on Solon's legislation in Ath. Pol. 7.2.

⁴⁴ See above, n. 11 for Ferguson's misreading of Polybius.

became clear that an individual's fortunes were still more subject to events elsewhere than to any victory he might achieve in an Athenian forum. The world had changed, and the legal reforms of Demetrius of Phalerum, which to a large extent reflected this changed world, remained largely intact.

In conclusion, since our evidence does not allow us to know Demetrius' legislation in detail, I have concentrated instead on changes in the way the legal system actually worked in Athens. I have suggested that although much of the substantive and procedural law probably remained the same, the system would no longer have served its earlier role as an important public forum for aristocratic competition, and that overall use of the legal process thus probably declined substantially. This shift was obviously attributable in part to the political realities of the new Hellenistic world, but Demetrius' reforms were consistent with these larger changes in the world and helped the legal system adjust to them. His reforms also may have served the general philosophical desire for greater order and precision. By the time Demetrius was swept out of power, the democrats, nostalgic for past glories, would have had to create an entirely new legal system to revive the large public role Athenian law had played in earlier years; and given the political realities, it is doubtful whether even wholesale reform could have succeeded at that point. Demetrius' legal reforms had essentially solidified the new spirit of law that the changed world required.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ I would like to thank Stephen Todd for comments on an earlier draft of this paper.



5

Demetrius of Phalerum: A Politician among Philosophers and a Philosopher among Politicians

Hans B. Gottschalk

It has been said that philosophy, for Plato, was politics continued by other means. If politics is taken to mean, as Plato intended it to be, the search for a society that would secure the best possible life for all its members, there is much truth in this witticism. Plato himself made several attempts to create a philosopher-king in Syracuse, and while these failed, some of his pupils, notably Hermias of Atarneus, succeeded on a smaller scale, at least for a time. From Plato's school this practice passed to others, notably the Peripatos and Stoa, and in the Hellenistic era it became common for philosophers to be employed as advisers to kings (and later to Roman magistrates abroad)² and to act as negotiators or constitution-makers for Greek cities, occupying a position rather like that of Lord Franks in post-war Britain. A sentence in Strato's will sug-

¹ See I. Düring, Aristotle in the Ancient Biographical Tradition (Göteborg 1957) 272–83, for the sources. The tradition that Aristotle also gave detailed political advice to Alexander is much less securely based; the letter from him to Alexander preserved in Arabic and edited by J. Bielawsky and M. Plezia in 1970 is almost certainly spurious; cf. the review by O. Murray and C. Montague, JHS 93 (1973) 226–8.

² Cf. J. Glucker, Antiochus and the Late Academy (Göttingen 1978) 21ff.

gests that in his day many members of the Peripatos regarded such activity as an attractive alternative to a career of teaching and research.³ The famous Athenian embassy to Rome in 155 BC is only one example in a well-established tradition.⁴ An earlier one whose consequences reached further and lasted longer was the activity of Demetrius of Phaleron, who for ten years, 317–307 BC, governed Athens on behalf of the Macedonian power.

Demetrius' career began in 324 BC, so he must have been born by 350 at the latest, and perhaps a little earlier, in the mid-350s. He is described as an adherent of Theophrastus, but must have joined the Peripatos while Aristotle was still alive. He remained loyal to his school and to Theophrastus all his life, making it possible for him to establish the Peripatos on a permanent basis by securing for him the right to buy real estate in Athens, a privilege normally restricted to Athenian citizens; he may also have given him some financial assistance, although there is no evidence for this. He was a man of varied gifts, a voluminous writer and one of the leading orators of his day, as well as a statesman. Cicero describes him as the only man to attain the highest rank as a political thinker and a man of action (57 SOD = fr. 72 W), and it is this combination of roles that has fascinated modern scholars: debate about his life and work has centred on the question whether, or to what extent, his policies were determined by the philosophy he learned, or could have learned, in Aristotle's school. Until the middle of the present century there was a consensus that he tried, deliberately and consciously, to put Academic and Aristotelian political principles into practice. Since then opinion has veered away from this view as several important studies have been published, showing that most of his reforms could have been motivated by practical considerations and historical experience more

³ Strato fr. 10 Wehrli, ap. Diog. Laert. 5.62.

⁴On this see Critolaus frr. 5–10 Wehrli. Another example is the Peripatetic Prytanis, formerly known chiefly as the lawgiver who drew up the constitution of Megalopolis (Polyb. 5.93.8); a decree of 226 BC found in the Athenian Agora in 1933 (*Hesperia* 4 [1935] 525–9) and republished by L. Moretti, *Inscr. storiche ellenistiche* I (Firenze 1967) no. 28, honours him for a successful embassy on behalf of Athens to Antigonus Doson. From this inscription we also learn that he came from Karystos and his father's name was Astykleides.

⁵ The ancient evidence for Demetrius' life has been collected by Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, vol. 4, frr. 1–71, and Jacoby, *FGrH* 228 T 1–11; both have useful commentaries. E. Bayer, *Demetrius Phalereus der Athener* (Darmstadt 1969) 1 and Wehrli pick the later date; I join Prof. Tracy (this volume) in preferring the earlier one.

than the desire to implement a philosophical programme. In trying to strike a balance between these alternatives, I shall first present a brief outline, as objective as the evidence allows, of his political career; then I shall say something about his writings and philosophical opinions; lastly, I shall ask how these two sides of his activity relate to each other and to the philosophical tradition in which he was educated.

I

We first meet Demetrius at the time of the Harpalos affair, in 324 BC; he may have joined in the prosecution of Demosthenes, but the details are obscure. Two years later, after the death of Alexander the Great and the defeat of the revolt of the Greek cities against Macedon at the battle of Krannon (322), he seems to have been a member of the Athenian embassy to Antipater, the Macedonian commander (and friend of Aristotle) whom Alexander had left behind as his viceroy. The terms obtained on this occasion were harsh: a constitution was imposed on Athens in which the minimum census for obtaining full citizen rights was fixed at 2000 drachmai, and an attempt was made to resettle many of the disenfranchised poor in "colonies" in Thrace. It did not last long, however. Antipater died in 319; he designated Polyperchon as his successor and he, faced with the rivalry of the other "successors" of Alexander, decided to curry popular support in Greece by abrogating Antipater's settlement and returning to the status quo ante. Democracy was restored at Athens and the leaders of the pro-Macedonian party, among them Phocion, were executed. Demetrius, who was associated with them, was sentenced to death, but the sentence could not be carried out because he was not in Athens at the time. But the new rulers were unable to expel Antipater's garrison from Munychia, from where it controlled the Peiraeus. A year later Cassander, Antipater's son, anxious to regain what he regarded as his rightful inheritance, sailed to Greece with a fleet, and the democratic government of Athens decided to negotiate a new settlement with him. The terms were that Athens and the Peiraeus should be reunited, although a Macedonian garrison, now acknowledging Cassander as its chief, should remain on Munychia "temporarily"; the qualification for full citizenship was fixed at 1000 drachmai, and the government of Athens was to be headed by an ἐπιμελητής "elected" by

⁶ See Jacoby on T 1.

the people, "whomever Cassander should choose." Demetrius, who negotiated this compromise, was chosen. Later writers could describe it as a restoration of democracy or as a tyranny; the circumstances of its institution lend some plausibility to either view.

Not content to be a mere administrator, Demetrius set himself to reshape the political and social life of Athens. This is not the place to discuss the details or chronology of his reforms, but broadly they fall under three heads.

- 1) Constitutional: the franchise was limited to those with property worth 1000 drachmai or more. Election of magistrates and councillors was substituted for choice by lot and the rules to ensure equal tribal representation were relaxed. To ensure the strict observance of the constitution, νομοφύλακες were instituted, probably seven in number, with priestly insignia to enhance their dignity and powers to control the acts of the Council and Assembly.⁸ The procedure for cases brought by εἰσαγγελία was overhauled, the number of jurors being fixed at one thousand five hundred. The jurisdiction of the Areopagos had already been enlarged to include all criminal cases in 322, and this was retained.
- 2) Social: stringent regulations limited expenditure on banquets, women's dress, etc., funerals and grave-monuments. Trading in the market was regulated to prevent violent fluctuations of prices. A special set of magistrates, the γυναικόνομοι, was created to enforce these laws and exercise a general surveillance over public morals.⁹

⁷ We have two sources for the nature of Demetrius' position, Diod. Sic. 18.74 = **16A** = fr. 13 W, and a decree in Demetrius' honour, probably passed during his years of power, IG II² 1201 = **16B** = fr. 12. The first says that "One Athenian citizen should be appointed (καταστῆσαι) ἐπιμελητής, whomever Cassander should approve; and Demetrius was chosen (ἡρέθη)"; the second, that "Demetrius was chosen (αἰρεθεὶς) by the people." In the context of the inscription, αἰρεθεὶς could mean 'having been elected,' but in Diodorus the word is neutral and could mean no more than that Cassander selected Demetrius. The ambiguity is characteristic and probably intentional. Cf. W.S. Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens (London 1911) 36f.

⁸ Ferguson (above, n. 7) 44ff.; id. "The Laws of Demetrius of Phalerum and their Guardians," Klio 11 (1911) 271ff; Jacoby on FGrH 228 F 26, 328 F 64; E. Bayer, Demetrius Phalereus der Athener (Darmstadt 1969) 25ff; H-J.Gehrke, "Das Verhältniss von Politik und Philosophie im Wirken des D. von Ph.," Chiron 8 (1978) 151ff. There is some evidence that there were νομοφύλακες in Athens before the time of Demetrius, but he greatly enhanced the importance of this office.

⁹ Only the regulation of burials is expressly attributed to Demetrius by an ancient writer (Cicero Leg. 2.63ff = fr. 135 W); the rest of the social legislation, including the title of the γυναικονὧομοι, is known from fragments of contemporary comedies, but Demetrius' responsibility has been inferred by historians since Boeckh. Cf. Martini RE 4.2825ff., Bayer (above, n. 8) 51ff., Gehrke (above, n. 8) 162ff.

3) Fiscal and administrative: *leitourgiai* were abolished, both those connected with dramatic and other festivals (choregiai, etc.) and the trierarchiai; the costs formerly met by these means were henceforth paid out of public funds, special officials, agonothetai etc., being appointed to administer the festivals. Payments from the Theoric Fund were abolished and ephebe-service confined to the classes qualified for the franchise. A complete census of the population was made, probably in connection with drawing-up the new citizen-list, and some adjustments were made in the functions of minor officials such as the Agoranomoi. Apparently measures were also taken to encourage the keeping of reliable records of wills and transfers or mortgages of real estate, but there is no proof of legislation to this end. 10 Demetrius' dayto-day policies were in harmony with his legislative reforms. Foreign adventures were avoided and the fleet and army reduced to a level in keeping with Athens' real power; this would have had the incidental effect of further reducing the influence of the lower classes, who provided the rowers.¹¹ At home, trade and industry were fostered; extravagance in public expenditure was avoided, but resources were made available for some public building and religious festivals were celebrated with suitable magnificence.¹² A point where his policy and his private interests met was the encouragement of philosophy; in addition to Theophrastus, we are told that he helped, or tried to help, Xenocrates, Theodorus "the Atheist" and Crates the Cynic. 13

As a result Athens was a haven of peace and prosperity in a world torn by the unending wars of Alexander's former officers; this was admitted

¹⁰ Bayer (above, n. 8) 48ff. against Ferguson (*Klio* 11) 265. The abolition of *leitourgiai*, like most of the social legislation, is not attributed to Demetrius in the ancient sources; the fact and its approximate date are known from inscriptions and the rest is inference; cf. Martini (above, n. 9) 2825, Gehrke (above, n. 8) 171ff. On a small point, it has been noticed that Theophrastus took particular care over the technical details of his will, and this suggests that he approved of these measures and may even have helped to inspire them; cf. Ferguson (above, n. 8) 267, H.B. Gottschalk, *Hermes* 100 (1972) 320.

Diodorus 20.45.2 = 30 = fr. 50 that Demetrius kept a large force of mercenaries, but this is unwarranted; the troops referred to there belonged to the Macedonian garrison stationed on Munychia, between the Peiraeus and Athens.

 $^{^{12}}$ 1, 54, 50 = frr. 28–30, 132 W. Theophrastus would have approved, as the quotation in Cic. Off. 2.56 (= fr. 514 FHS&G) shows. But Demetrius is said to have criticised Pericles' expenditure on the Propylaea of the Acropolis (110 = fr. 137); that evidently exceeded the proper mean.

 $^{^{13}}$ **48–9**, **33**, **32** = frr. 43–4, 58–9 W.

even by hostile critics, although they tried to dismiss Demetrius' achievements as those of a blinkered treasury official.¹⁴ Yet there remained a current of discontent with the political restrictions at home and Athens' impotence abroad which Demetrius, with a curious lack of political instinct, did nothing to allay or guard against. An attempt by the democratic faction in 312-311 to detach Athens from Cassander and bring her into the rival league formed by Antigonos, came to nothing. Four years later Antigonos' son Demetrius, later known as Poliorketes, appeared unexpectedly off the Attic coast with a fleet, entered the Peiraeus before anyone realised what was happening, and proclaimed that he had come to liberate Athens (307 BC). The Phalerean was taken by surprise and, after an abortive resistance, accepted a safe-conduct to Thebes. There he remained until the death of Cassander in 297 put an end to his hopes of regaining power; then he migrated to Alexandria. His choice of refuge will have been partly determined by political considerations—any opponent of Antigonos and his son could hope for Ptolemy's protection, if not more—but also by Ptolemy's patronage of letters and interest in the Peripatos; he had invited Theophrastus to Alexandria, and later appointed Strato as tutor to his son and heir.¹⁵ This must have happened before 300, for one of the results of Strato's stay in Alexandria was a lasting friendship with Ptolemy's daughter Arsinoe, who married Lysimachos c. 300 and did not return to Alexandria until after Strato had become head of the Peripatetic School at Athens.¹⁶

In Alexandria Demetrius assisted Ptolemy in establishing a framework of laws for his newly constituted kingdom and may have been instrumental in the foundation of the Museum and Library.¹⁷ He seems to have retained the king's confidence as long as he lived, but showed no more flair for the intrigues of the court than Athenian politics. Ptolemy I (Soter) had two wives, Eurydice the daughter of Antipater, and

¹⁴ τελώνης βάναυσος, Demochares ap. Polyb. 12.13.7 = **89** = fr. 132 W.

¹⁵ Diog. Laert. 5.37, 58.

¹⁶ The view that Strato owed his appointment to Demetrius' influence appears to be mistaken; if the latter had already been in Alexandria, he could have taken on the tutorship himself. This gives rise to an interesting speculation. Since the younger Ptolemy was born in 308, he would have been very young to have a philosopher as tutor, but his sister Arsinoe, born in 316, would have been about the right age. Was Strato employed as her tutor, before being passed on to her brother?

¹⁷ **38**, **59**, **58** = frr. 63, 66–7 W. The details are controversial; cf. Bayer (above, n. 8) 93ff., 104ff., and P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I (Oxford 1972) 314ff., with the documentation in the notes.

Berenice, whose sons were rivals for the succession. Demetrius supported the claims of Eurydice's son Ptolemy Keraunos. He had good reasons: Eurydice was Soter's legitimate wife (Berenice only became his wife when Eurydice left him, after the succession had been decided, probably about 290) and she was the daughter of Antipater and sister of Cassander; so respect for morality and personal loyalty would have pulled him in the same direction. But Soter decided in favour of Berenice's son, later known as Ptolemy Philadelphos; he probably had good reasons too, because this son (and his elder sister Arsinoe, whom he later married) were outstandingly gifted. Later Demetrius seems to have compounded his mistake by advising Soter against making his heir joint king, and again his advice was rejected (285). Philadelphos did not forgive him; when Soter died and he became sole king, he banished Demetrius to Diospolis (in the middle of the Nile delta), and he died soon after of the bite of an asp. As Diogenes tells the story, it looks like an accident, but Cicero hints that it may have been deliberately arranged by the king. 18 We can give Philadelphos the benefit of the doubt; he had nothing to fear from the old man and could have used more direct methods, if he had wanted him killed.

II

It is time to turn to Demetrius' writings. All of them are concerned with ethics or politics, history and the history of literature—subjects which were only one part of the universal interests of Aristotle and Theophrastus, but became the exclusive preoccupation of many of their pupils, some of whom were not philosophers in any real sense. There is one possible exception, a work of which we only know the title, Περὶ τοῦ δοκου. I have deliberately left the noun unaccented, for its meaning depends on where its accent is placed. If it is placed on the last syllable, δοκοῦ would denote a kind of meteor and the title would be appropriate to a work on natural science, but this usage is late, first attested in Pliny the Elder; if on the first, δόκου could mean 'opinion', as opposed to knowledge, and is so used by Xenophanes (FV 21 B 34) and Callimachus (fr. 224 Pf); most scholars hold that this is the meaning Demetrius intended, and in this case his book would have dealt with

¹⁸ Diog. Laert. 5.78, Cic. *Pro Rabirio* 23 = **42** = fr. 71 W. Jacoby on 228 T 1 (p. 643) points out that Cicero may have been using a Peripatetic source.

epistemology. But nothing we hear about Demetrius suggests that he was interested in problems of this kind, and I wonder if the word as he used it here could have meant something like 'opinionatedness', by a modification similar to that undergone by the word $\tau \hat{\upsilon} \phi \sigma \varsigma$, from 'delusion' to 'vanity' or 'arrogance'. A saying attributed to him by Diogenes Laertius, ^{18a} "One should strip off the pride of arrogant men, but leave their spirit unimpaired," shows that he thought about this kind of thing.

Demetrius cannot have had much leisure for writing during his years as governor of Athens and most of his literary works will have been composed later, particularly during his ten years at Thebes, when time must have hung heavy on his hands and he was still at the height of his powers. To this period must belong his collection of his speeches (see **120**ff. = frr. 174ff. W) and a series of short pamphlets, of one book each, with such titles as About the Ten Years, In Defence of the ConstitutioN and Denunciation of the Athenians (13B, 19, 53, 89, 110, 115, 116A-**B**, 156, 164 = frr. 131–8), whose purpose seems to have been to defend Demetrius' rule of the city; perhaps they took the form of unspoken orations like those of Isocrates. Some at least of his philosophical dialogues must have been written at the same time. In the Περὶ τῆς τύχης (82A-B = fr. 81), Demetrius claimed that "fifty years ago" nobody could have foreseen the collapse of the Persian empire or the dominance of Macedon. It is not certain that we should take this figure literally, but if we do, it must have been written before 300 BC; by 350 the rise of Macedon was a fact and Isocrates at least could imagine Philip leading a pan-Hellenic crusade to defeat Persia (Isocrates' Letter to Philip was published in 346 BC). The events of 307 might well have stimulated Demetrius to reflect on the vicissitudes of fortune. I cannot understand how Wehrli could date this work to 280.

Another work which can be connected with events of these years is Demetrius' *Apology of Socrates*. One of the more serious consequences of Demetrius' fall was an action taken against the philosophical schools

¹⁸a 1 = fr. 119 W = DL 5.82 τῶν τετυφωμένων ἀνδρῶν ἔφη τὸ μὲν "ψος δεῖν περιαιρεῖν, τὸ δὲ φρόνημα καταλείπειν. The meaning of "ψος must be the one given in the text; cf. O. Apelt, who renders it by 'Hoffart' in his German translation of Diogenes (Leipzig, 1921). Hicks' translation in the Loeb edition, 'stature', which goes back to Aldobrandini's 'altitudinem', is absurd; would he dock the unfortunates' heads or feet? But LSJ give no exact parallel for this meaning of the word, and it would appear to be an extension of its range similar to the one I have postulated for δόκος. Was this a peculiarity of Demetrius' usage?

at Athens. At the instigation of one Sophocles, the son of Amphiclides, a law was passed that nobody was to open a philosophical school without the permission of the Council and People, on pain of death. Thereupon all the philosophers left Athens in a body. A year later a certain Philo, perhaps the Philo of Alopeke named among the witnesses of Theophrastus' will, brought a $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\eta\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\nu\delta\mu\omega\nu$ against Sophocles; in spite of the fact that he was supported by Demochares, the nephew of Demosthenes and an old opponent of Demetrius, Sophocles was fined fifty talents, his law was repealed and the philosophers returned to Athens. ¹⁹

Most historians²⁰ since Wilamowitz have interpreted this episode as a personal attack on Theophrastus, but this does violence to the evidence and misses the real point of what was going on. Our authorities agree in saying that the law applied to all philosophers and that they all left Athens;²¹ Athenaeus puts Sophocles' measure on a level with the Roman and Spartan prohibitions of philosophy and quotes a fragment of Alexis in this connection which cannot reasonably be anything other than an attack on Xenocrates and the Academy.²² Sophocles' intention must have been, if not to expel the philosophers, at least to bring them under a measure of state control, much as the more prominent religious cults had long been supervised by the civil authorities. Demochares' speech in support of Sophocles contained violent abuse of Socrates, the Academy and Aristotle; its main purpose was to prove that philosophers are

¹⁹ Diog. Laert. 5.38, Athen. 11.508f., 13.610f. For Philo, cf. Diog. Laert. 5.57; according to Athenaeus, he was 'Αριστοτέλους γνώριμος and wrote a λόγος against Sophocles. For Demochares, see FGrH 75 T 2, F4; Düring (above, n. 1) T 58q; id., Herodicus the Cratetean (Stockholm 1941) 84ff., 149ff.; and the fragments of his speeches in Baiter-Sauppe, Orat. Att. II 341. Cf. Wilamowitz, Antigonos von Karystos (Berlin 1881) 194ff.; Ferguson (above, n. 7) 104ff.; Regenbogen, RE Suppl.7,1360; C. Natali, La scuola dei filosofi (L'Aquila 1981) 149ff.

²⁰ Exceptions are P. Boyancé, Le culte des Muses chez les philosophes grecques (Paris 1937) 315; Düring (above, n. 19) 149-51; Natali 151.

²¹The only reason for associating it with Theophrastus in particular is that Diogenes refers to it in his Life of Theophrastus and nowhere else. But this could be a coincidence.

²² Ath. 610e = Alexis fr. 327 Kock; it is not quite certain that the poet was alluding to Sophocles' law; cf. Regenbogen (above, n. 19) 1360. Wilamowitz' interpretation can only be described as bizarre. The Demetrius referred to in this fragment cannot be the Phalerean, as Gulick thinks (in the Loeb ed. ad loc.), because he certainly never expelled any philosophers or other teachers; Alexis must have confused him with Poliorketes, but it is odd to find the latter coupled with the *nomothetai*, as he is here.

bad citizens and congenitally unpatriotic, but the extant fragments include no reference to Theophrastus or any philosopher living in 306. The fragments attributed to Demetrius' Apology of Socrates are also quite general, arguing that the Athenians never appreciated philosophers at their true worth (105–8 = frr. 91–94). It looks as if Demetrius was making a reply to Demochares and attempting to influence a debate on a matter which he must have regarded as vitally important. Demochares' inclusion of Socrates in his strictures gave him an opportrunity of doing so without raising embarrassing questions about philosophers' allegiance to foreign powers and to use a literary form that had already become well established.²³

Other works certainly or probably belong to the time when he lived in Alexandria: the paean he is said to have written in honour of Sarapis (1 = fr. 68) and the Π epì ἀνείρων (86 = fr. 99) which, if genuine, may have been inspired by a real healing experience, the historical writings about Jews and Egypt attributed to him (65–6 = frr. 201–2) and perhaps the writings about Homer and other poets (143–6 = frr. 190–4). The rest are less easy to date, but one, the Catalogue of Archons (ἀρχόντων ἀναγραγή) can only have been compiled at Athens; Demetrius must have written it as a very young man, before the start of his political career. It was a characteristically Peripatetic product, a list of Athenian archons with notes on the events of their year of office; at least for the early period, some happenings outside Athens seem to have been included.

Another work of the same kind was the Περὶ τῆς 'Αθήνησι νομοθεσίας (95–101 = frr.139–47). Like the *Anagraphe*, it was a long work (five books) and was used as a quarry by later grammarians look-

²³ Wehrli's view that Demetrius was replying to Aristoxenus' attack on Socrates (fr. 51ff. W) is possible, but robs the work of its topicality and does not explain the generalised character of his criticism of the Athenians.

The Letter of Aristeas claims that Demetrius was instrumental in persuading Ptolemy to commission the Greek translation of the Old Testament, or at least the Pentateuch, but the details are too obscure for us to be sure what his real contribution was. Cf. 59, 58B = frr. 66-7, with Wehrli's commentary.

²⁵ **92–4**, **103**, **109**, **155** = frr. 149–54 W, F 1–3, 10 Jac. Although its title is attested by several citations, it is not included in Diogenes' list of Demetrius' works (1 = fr. 74 W). If this is based on the catalogue of his writings in the Alexandrian library (so Jacoby on 228 T 1, p. 643f.; Wehrli on fr. 74 is more reserved), which would probably have been presented by Demetrius himself, the reason may be that he did not have a copy in his possession during his exile.

ing for facts to illustrate the speeches of the Attic orators. It seems to have been a systematic treatise on Athenian law, especially in its constitutional and procedural aspects, and the extant fragments show no trace of any attempt to justify Demetrius' own legislation. Jacoby has compared it to c.42ff. of Aristotle's Ath. Pol., 26 and Theophrastus' Περὶ νόμων is another parallel. These writings reveal the direction of Demetrius' interests: not so much in abstract political theory, but in the facts of historical experience and how government actually works. Aristotle had emphasised the importance of such facts for theory, but for him the discovery of facts was not the primary task of the philosopher. Demetrius' approach is that of the second generation of Peripatetics, closer to that of Theophrastus than Aristotle. Our authorities are right to associate him with Theophrastus in particular.

There is even less to say about Demetrius' other works. We only know the titles of most of them (1-2, 80 = frr. 74-6), but they are enough to show that they fitted easily into the current of "exoteric" Peripatetic writings. Many of the ethical works were dialogues, and many have titles also found among the works of other members of his school, especially Theophrastus: 1, 82-5 = frr. 77-87 (except fr. 78 $\Pi \epsilon \rho i$ μεγαλοψυχίας, but the Aristotelian character of this term hardly needs pointing out); the On Rhetoric and the books on Homer (130-41, 143-6 = 156-73, 190-3). An interest in Socrates (103-9 = 91-8) and Plato (133 = 195) was shared by all pupils of Aristotle—his school was probably not distinguished clearly from Plato's while Demetrius was in Athens—and Dicaearchus, at least, shared his interest in the Seven Sages (87 = 114, cf. 93 = 149). Even his collection of Aesopic fables, the first and, it seems, only one in classical Greece,27 fits into this context. However, Demetrius seems to have avoided the extravagances of some of his colleagues. Except for the On Dreams, whose authenticity has been questioned by Del Corno,28 we hear of no tales of miracles or "paradoxa," and his books seem to have been free of the unctuous moralising of a Clearchus or Heraclides.

²⁶ Jacoby on 228 F 4, p. 646.

²⁷ Cf. B.E.Perry, in the Loeb ed. of Babrius and Phaedrus, xiiiff., with further references.

²⁸ Graec. de re oneirocritica scr. reliquiae (Milan 1969) 138f.

Returning now to Demetrius' political acts, all his measures had a common aim. His constitution tried to achieve political stability by placing the government in the hands of the middle and upper classes, while only depriving a minority of the poorest citizens of the franchise. His social and fiscal changes had the purpose of preventing the dissipation of existing wealth, whether by public benefactions or private extravagance. This was the reason for his sumptuary laws, not any strong disapproval of high living; Demetrius' own way of life was anything but puritanical, and he was prepared to hold sumptuous public festivals, when the occasion warranted it.29 It has been maintained that these changes were suggested to Demetrius by the political teaching of Aristotle and Theophrastus, and amounted to nothing less than an attempt to translate Peripatetic theory into practice.³⁰ Aristotle and Theophrastus would certainly have approved the general tenor of his reforms, and In Pol. 4-6 (where he is concerned with attainable, rather than ideal, constitutions) Aristotle emphasises both that power should rest with the middle class and that the franchise should be wide enough to include a majority of free citizens.³¹ But the only one of his measures expressly recommended in their extant works is the abolition of leitourgiai at Ar. Pol. 1309a14ff. Thus Bayer and Gehrke are on strong ground when they argue that Demetrius' legislation was determined by his sense of what was desirable in the actual situation in which Athens was placed rather than any preconceived doctrines. His freedom was in any case limited. The restriction on the franchise and generally undemocratic character of his government had been imposed by Cassander, although his constitution was considerably more liberal than the one imposed by Antipater in 322. Bayer (p. 20) is inclined to give the credit for

 $^{^{29}}$ **43**, **89** = frr. 34–5, 132 W. For Demetrius' attitude to *choregiai*, see **115** = fr. 136.

³⁰ Ferguson (above, n. 7) 39; (above, n. 8) 268f.; Martini 2827; Cohn, *Mnemosyne* n.s. 54 (1926) 92ff. Contra Bayer (above, n. 8) 21–93 et passim, Regenbogen (above, n. 19) 1359, Gehrke (above, n. 8) passim.

³¹ Pol. 4.11, esp. 1295b34ff.; cf. 5.1.1302a14ff., 2.1307a11ff. These aims may seem to be incompatible, and Aristotle admits that the "intermediate" constitution he favoured would be closer to a democracy than an oligarchy, and all the more likely to endure for that reason. On the importance of the mean in the teaching of these books see E. Schtrumpf in the introduction to his German translation of the Politics, vol. 3 (Berlin 1996) 130ff.

this to Cassander, but our sources suggest that it was the outcome of negotiation, and since Cassander had no direct experience of Athenian affairs, it is likely that Demetrius guided him in this direction; his memory of the difficulty of implementing the earlier policy under Phocion's leadership would have reinforced Aristotle's teaching and led him to see that this was where the appropriate mean lay.³² Other features, such as the election of magistrates and the abolition of payment for attending the assembly, were traditionally associated with this type of constitution. Where there is reason to believe that Demetrius may have been influenced by a literary source, it turns out to be Plato as often as Aristotle: parts of his sumptuary legislation correspond to proposals advanced in the *Laws*,³³ and the idea of νομοφύλακες may have come from the same source, although Plato's conception of this office was different from that of Demetrius.³⁴ The regulations concerning funerals have a precedent in the laws of Solon as well as Plato.³⁵

But if the details of Demetrius' legislation were drawn from a variety of sources, traditional as well as literary, the code he made out of them conformed more closely to the model recommended by Aristotle than to any other. It was also coherent and effective and, in one respect, unique. While it was not uncommon for cities to acquire new law-codes in the second half of the fourth century, they were mostly drawn up by experts, often philosophers, brought in from outside. When Demetrius legislated for Athens, he was in charge of the government and responsible for making the new system work. No other statesman in a similar position ever tried to impose equally comprehensive changes on a major city. This calls for an explanation, and since his Peripatetic training is what distinguished him from most other Greek politicians, it is reasonable to look for it there, as most historians have instinctively done. But it would

³² Cf. Ferguson (above, n. 11) 36ff., Gehrke (above, n. 8) 181ff.

³³ Bayer (above, n. 8) 54ff.; the chief passage is *Laws* 775aff., whose provisions are paralleled by restrictions on banqueting referred to by the comic poets.

³⁴ Plato's νομοφύλακες have many of the functions of Demetrius' γυναικόνομοι (e.g. Laws 775b), and Plato has no γυναικόνομοι. Gehrke 164ff. emphasises that there remain considerable differences between them, but these concern details, not the principle of the thing.

³⁵ Cic. Leg. 2.63ff. = **53** = fr. 135 W; Solon ap.(Dem.) 43.62, cf. Plut. Solon 21.5; Pl. Laws 958dff., 959e; cf. Bayer (above, n. 8) 62ff.

³⁶ E.g. Aristotle is said to have given laws to Stagira (Diog. Laert. 5.4, cf. Düring [above, n. 1] 290). Other instances are given by Plut. Adv. Col. 1126aff.

³⁷ The difference between "lawgivers" and ordinary politicians has been emphasised by Schütrumpf (above, n. 31) 140ff. and 215f.

be a mistake to think that Aristotle's school imposed a rigid dogma on its members. The mark of a true Peripatetic was the freedom with which he handled the ideas he inherited and applied them to whatever problems he had to deal with in science, scholarship or politics. Demetrius' debt to his school can be traced in his conviction that political and social problems could be solved by legislation, in the knowledge of legal and constitutional history which enabled him to choose the most appropriate means of achieving his ends, and in the historical awareness which allowed him to see that Athens had to find a new role in the world ruled by the successors of Alexander, and that this necessitated reforms going beyond the constitutional tinkering needed to keep one faction in power. For us, Demetrius' career raises a more general question. How can we measure the impact of a political philosophy on policy-making? What is the effect of such a philosophy on the practical measures a statesman is likely to take? It is seldom possible to translate philosophical ideals directly into fact; reality is too intractable for that. Aristotle did not only advocate an ideal form of government, but was prepared to recommend ways of making less than ideal constitutions work, if they were the best that could be achieved in given circumstances.³⁸ In the circumstances of fourth-century Greece, he envisaged a judicious mixture of oligarchic and democratic elements as the best that could be hoped for. Political theory can analyse the interaction of different groups within the state; it can show which constitutional mechanism is most likely to secure a stable and cohesive society, but it cannot teach the secret of political success. Demetrius was not a born political leader, perhaps because he did not appreciate the power of passion, of gut-feeling, as a motive force; his speeches, Cicero tells us, could give aesthetic pleasure, but not arouse his hearers and set them on fire (121 = fr. 175 W). His policies were successful in a limited way; they made the best of the situation in which Athens was placed in 318, and secured internal stability and prosperity for a time. But Demetrius could not have put them into practice without the backing of Macedonian troops, and never won the hearts and minds of the Athenian people. His opponents, as we have seen, dismissed his policies as those of a blinkered cashier; in modern terms, they felt that he lacked the vision-thing. Aristotle's school, like Jowett's Balliol, could train administrators and viceroys, but could not create political leaders.

³⁸ Pol. 4.1-2.

Il Contributo dei Papiri alla Ricostruzione della Biografia e delle Idee sulla Retorica di Demetrio del Falero

Tiziano Dorandi

I. La tradizione papirologica relativa a Demetrio del Falero è costituita, quasi esclusivamente, di testimonianze conservate dai papiri di Ercolano e, in particolare, dalla *Retorica* di Filodemo.¹ Tutti i passi filodemei hanno già trovato spazio nella raccolta di Wehrli; un loro riesame, come vedremo subito, è tuttavia reso necessario dai progressi che si sono avuti sia sul piano testuale sia dal punto di vista ermeneutico.

Il numero piú ampio di frammenti Wehrli ha ricondotto ai due libri Περὶ ἡητορικῆς del Falereo (F 156–59, 162, 169, 172 W = **130–132**, **134,141** SOD); uno è stato collocato nella sezione biografica (F 60 W = **37**) e uno, infine, in quella intitolata "Rhetorisches" (F 205 W = **142**).

I.1. Comincio con i luoghi della *Retorica* di Filodemo, che Wehrli assegna al Περὶ ἡητορικῆς di Demetrio. Essi contengono una interessante serie di dati sulle teorie di Demetrio concernenti la retorica

¹ Cf. T. Dorandi, *Testimonia Herculanensia*, in *CPF* I 1* (Firenze: Olschki 1989) 35.

e alcuni suoi puntuali giudizi su retori o personaggi famosi: Eschine, Demostene, Isocrate, l'architetto Filone di Eleusi. Prendo in esame i singoli frammenti a partire dalla nuova silloge di Stork-van Ophuijsen-Dorandi, escludendo, per il momento, il frammento **131AB** (= F 158 e 159 W), che ci fa conoscere l'opinione di Demetrio sull'oratoria dello scolarca dell'Academia, Senocrate di Calcedonia.

a. Phld., Rh., PHerc. 1004, col. 48.1–15, vol. 1.346 Sudhaus (F 156 W = 132)—Non ostante la nuova autopsia del papiro abbia messo in dubbio, in qualche punto, il testo costituito da Sudhaus e accettato da Wehrli,² sicuro resta il riferimento a un Filone (l. 6), che può essere identificato con l'omonimo architetto di Eleusi, vissuto nella seconda metà del IV sec.³ È probabile che Filodemo riferisse un giudizio di Demetrio sulle qualità di Filone simile a quelli che leggiamo ancora in Filodemo, Cicerone e Valerio Massimo:⁴ l'architetto Filone era capace di parlare con competenza davanti all'assemblea della costruzione dell'arsenale di Atene grazie alle sue conoscenze di architetto e non per la sua preparazione retorica.

b. Phld., Rh. IV, PHerc. 1007, col. 40a.24–42a.4, vol. 1.221–2 (F 157 W = 130)—È, senza dubbio, il testo piú significativo per la ricostruzione delle idee di Demetrio sulla retorica. Siamo alla fine del quarto libro della Retorica e Filodemo richiama, per criticarle, le opinioni del Falereo: Demetrio sosteneva che alle tre classi in cui si era soliti dividere la retorica—δημηγορικόν, δικανικόν e ἐπιδεικτικὸν (ο σοφιστικόν) γένος—se ne dovesse aggiungere una quarta, chiamata ἐντευκτικὸν ἄπασιν, che avesse la possibilità di coesistere insieme con quella sofistica (o epidittica), in una stessa e unica persona.

² Ua ricostruzione alternativa, piú convincente, propose il von Arnim, SVF III Diog. F 100. La lettura del papiro è incerta soprattutto nella l. 4 (a causa di una aggiunta interlineare) e nelle ll. 9–15 (la cui ricostruzione presenta ancora difficoltà). Le nuove lezioni registrate da M. G. Cappelluzzo, Cronache Ercolanesi 6 (1976) 73 non sono sempre attendibili. In qualche punto la studiosa mostra eccessiva prudenza: alla l. 1 s., [Δημή]|τριος di Sudhaus è integrazione che riterrei indubitabile; alla l. 5, περὶ θὰτέ[ρο]υ Φίλωνος è sicuro.

³ Cf. E. Fabricius, *Philon* 56, *RE* XX 1 (1941) 56-60.

⁴ Phld., Rhet. IV, PHerc. 1007, col. 11a.1-4 (vol. 1.192); Cic., De orat. 1.14.62 e Val. Max. 8.12 ext. 2. Cf. Wehrli SdA 4.79.

⁵ Cf. Wehrli, SdA 4.79 s. Per l'identità con Demetrio del Falero, cf. W. Crönert, Kolotes und Menedemos (Leipzig: Avenarius 1906; Amsterdam: Hakkert 1965) 69.

⁶ Sul suo significato, cf. J. M. van Ophuijsen, Where Have the Topics Gone?, in Peripatetic Rhetoric after Aristotle, ed. W. W. Fortenbaugh and D. C. Mirhady, 154–55, 169 (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers 1994).

Ribadisce che la ricerca e l'acquisizione della verità sono prerogativa non dei filosofi, ma piuttosto dei retori, i quali soli rappresentano quel tipo di oratore universale capace di tenere discorsi sia per le ἐντεύξεις sia περὶ ὁμιλίας⁷ e sulle indagini che richiedono prova (τὰς σκέψεις ... τὰς πίστεως δεομένας).⁸ In questa pretesa che esistesse una persona che potesse riunire in sé tutti quanti i generi retorici è stato intravisto (Wehrli) un tentativo, da parte di Demetrio, di superare le antiche perduranti rivalità sul predominio della filosofia o della retorica nel campo della educazione. Forse Demetrio, nella sua posizione di uomo di Stato filosoficamente formato credeva di essere riuscito a fare di se stesso un modello vivente di tutte queste virtù.

c. Phld., Rh. IV, PHerc. 1007, col.15a.20–18a.8, vol. 1.197 (F 162 e 169 W = 134)—Il duplice giudizio negativo di Demetrio su Demostene—troppo teatrale e non semplice né nobile nella sua oratoria e incline, inoltre, verso ciò che c'è di piú molle e infimo—si incanala bene nella tradizione aristotelica secondo cui la ὑπόκρισις di un retore è certamente ignobile, ma necessaria a causa della μοχθηρία τῶν πολιτειῶν.

Nelle linee seguenti, Filodemo riferisce le critiche di Demetrio allo stile di Isocrate,¹⁰ accusato di ricorrere a periodi troppo lunghi e, pertanto, impossibili da declamare.¹¹

d. Phld., Rh., PHerc. 1015, fr. 6.1–7, vol. 1.272 (F 172 W = **141**)—

⁸ Approvato da Cicerone, *De off.* 1.1.3 (= F 73 W = **119**), *De leg.* 3.6.14 (= F 72 W = **57**) e *Brutus* 9.37 (= 175 W = **121**).

¹⁰ Cf. G. Indelli, "Testimonianze su Isocrate nel *PHerc*. 1007 (Filodemo, *Retorica IV*)," Cronache Ercolanesi 23 (1993) 88s.

⁷ La lettura ἀληθείας (accolta finora da tutti gli editori) è falsa. Sul papiro si legge infatti: ὁμειλίας (= ὁμιλίας). La nuova lezione sembra confermare una suggestione di Wehrli, SdA 4.79 che l'ἐντευκτικὸς λόγος di Demetrio "entspricht der προσομιλητικὴ τέχνη, welche im platonischen Sophistes 222 c zur δικανικὴ und δημηγορικὴ τέχνη tritt. D. greift also auf voraristotelische Unterscheidung zurück."

⁹ Arist., Rhet. 1403b 22ss. Cf. Wehrli SdA 4.80s. A col. 15a.24–25 si legge: παρὰ δ[ὲτῶ]ι | Φαληρεῖ λέγεται το΄ ῦτο (e non λ. τὸ), il che consente di stabilire che, nelle linee seguenti, è riportata una citazione diretta da Demetrio.

¹¹ Alla base di entrambi i giudizi si colloca la distinzione aristotelica tra la γραφική e la ἀγωνιστικὴ λέξις, la seconda delle quali ritenuta ὑποκριτικωτάτη (Arist. Rhet. 3.12, 1413b9). Cf. Wehrli, SdA 10.43 (Comm. a F 52). Recentemente M. Gigante, "La Scuola di Aristotele," in Festschrift Kullmann (Stuttgart 1997), 260–3 ha suggerito che l'intero passo filodemeo (15a.24–18a8) deve essere "riportato integralmente quale frammento unico di Demetrio e quale frammento unico di Ieronimo" (263). Wehrli avrebbe avuto torto a tagliare in tre sezioni quel brano e a distribuirlo fra Demetrio (F 162 e 169 = **134**) e Ieronimo (F 52 W).

Negli scarni resti del frammento sembra che Filodemo richiami la testimonianza di Demetrio in un'opera sulla retorica a proposito dell'attribuzione degli scritti di Pitagora al pitagorico Liside di Taranto.¹²

- e. Dall'estrema lacunosità dell'ultimo passo—Phld., Rh., PHerc. 1015, fr. 23.10–15, vol. I.278 (F 205 W = 142)—risalta solo il nome del nostro filosofo peripatetico.
- **I.2.** Vengo al giudizio di Demetrio sulla abilità oratoria di Senocrate. Ai due testi della *Retorica* filodemea raccolti da Wehrli—Phld., *Rh.*, *PHerc.* 1004, col. 55, vol. 1.350 (F 158 W = **131A** = Senocr. F 37 Isnardi) e *PHerc.* 453, fr. 4 (F 159 W = **131B** = Senocr. F 39)—ne deve essere aggiunto un terzo, dove è, di nuovo, una allusione, seppure celata, all'opinione di Demetrio—*PHerc.* 224, fr. 12, vol. 2.173 (**131C** = Senocr. F 38 Isnardi).¹³

Una omogeneità di contenuti unisce i tre passi, nei quali è fatto esplicito riferimento all'atteggiamento tenuto da Senocrate durante l'ambasceria presso Antipatro alla fine della Guerra lamiaca, nel 322 a.C. Dalle tre testimonianze sembra che Demetrio attribuisca la cattiva accoglienza riservata da Antipatro a Senocrate alla inabilità oratoria dimostrata dal filosofo in quella occasione. Senocrate fallí nel suo intento perché non seppe perorare la causa ateniese come un retore, ma argomentò: "Cosí come era solito disputare una tesi nell'Academia" (ὡς] εἰώθει διαπεί [ραίνεσθαι] πρὸς θέσιν ἐν 'Αί [καδημείαι]). A Senocrate mancava, quindi, quel λόγος ἐντευκτικὸς ἄπασιν, che,

¹² Cf. D.L. 8.7 su cui J. Stenzel, *Lysis* 2, *RE* XIV 1 (1928) 64s. e B. Centrone, *I Pitagorici* (Roma e Bari: Laterza 1996) 148–49.

Quest'ultimo è solo parzialmente citato da Wehrli, SdA 4.80. I tre luoghi furono raccolti e studiati, per la prima volta, da Crönert 1906, 67-69. Cf. M. Isnardi Parente, "Per la biografia di Senocrate," Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica 109 (1981) 136-37, 150ss. e nel comm. ai F 37-39 di Senocrate (Napoli: Bibliopolis 1981) 296-99; D. Whitehead, "Xenokrates the Metic," RM 124 (1981) 238-41; K. Gaiser, Philodems Academica. Die Berichte über Platon und die Alte Akademie in zwei herkulanensischen Papyri (Stuttgart e Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog 1988) 471s. Sul giudizio di Demetrio su Senocrate vedi ora T. Dorandi, "Senocrate nel giudizio di Demetrio del Falero," in Festschrift Kullmann 1997, 271-8.

Non ostante permangano ancora alcune difficoltà testuali, dovute alla cattiva trasmissione dei frammenti, il loro significato è abbastanza chiaro. Una rinnovata autopsia del papiro migliora alcuni punti almeno del 131A. Nel 131B i dubbi sollevati dal Crönert (1906, 68) restano irrisolti.

¹⁵ PHerc. 224 fr. 12.6–8 Crönert (= **131C**). L'integrazione può essere considerata sicura.

abbiamo visto,¹⁶ Demetrio considerava necessario per perorare una causa davanti a un potente e che lui stesso sosteneva di aver mostrato davanti alla ὑπερηφανία di Cratero.¹⁷

Piú in generale, il giudizio di Demetrio è interessante per la ricostruzione delle vicende biografiche di Senocrate intorno alle quali circolavano due filoni: il primo, favorevole allo scolarca, ne mette in luce la fermezza di fronte al sovrano macedone, il secondo, sfavorevole, insiste sulla sua inefficacia. Per quel che riguarda l'episodio dell'ambasceria di Senocrate presso Antipatro, sembra che Demetrio sia interessato a contrapporre una sua versione "negativa" dei fatti a quella "patriottica," quale risulta dall'Academicorum historia di Filodemo, da Plutarco e Diogene Laerzio.¹⁸ Nel tendenzioso e inaffidabile resoconto di Demetrio è implicito un motivo antiacademico a favore della filosofia aristotelica, che permette più elevate prestazioni di ordine pratico-politico (Isnardi). Per quanto riguarda la testimonianza degli altri autori, studi recenti hanno dimostrato che Filodemo e Plutarco sono piú attendibili di Diogene Laerzio e che il contenuto della narrazione di Plutarco, sebbene appaia piú ricco di dettagli di quello di Filodemo, rimane invariato nella sostanza. Plutarco informa che Senocrate era stato aggiunto alla delegazione ateniese su delibera popolare grazie alle sue qualità morali e che Antipatro lo aveva accolto con ostilità e ben presto gli aveva ingiunto di tacere. Simile in Filodemo e in Plutarco la risposta che il filosofo aveva dato a Antipatro riguardo alle decisioni che aveva prese nei confronti di Atene: moderate per schiavi, ma dure per uomini liberi.19

Il problema dell'identificazione dell'opera di Demetrio dalla quale Filodemo avrebbe ripreso il giudizio sfavorevole su Senocrate continua a essere controverso. A quanto sembra, Filodemo citava la sua fonte nelle Il. 14–16 della col. 55 del PHerc. 1004 (F 158 W = 131A). Purtroppo, le cattive condizioni del papiro ne rendono quanto mai dubbia la lettura e la conseguente intrepretazione: sul papiro si scorgono solo minime tracce; non resta quindi che affidarsi alle lezioni dell'Apografo Napoletano (N):]Π[...]ΦΑΛΗΡΕΥC | [ca. 11 lettere]ΩΙΗΟ | [. Sudhaus integrò: καθά]π[ερ ὁ] Φαληρεὺς | [ἱστόρηκεν]

¹⁶ Supra, **I.1b**.

¹⁷ Cf. Demetr. De eloc. 289 (= F 183 W = **12**).

¹⁸ Phld. Acad. hist., col. 7.19-8.17; Plut. Phoc. 27.1-6 (= Senocr. F 35); D.L. 4.9.

¹⁹ Sulla tradizione relativa alla ambasceria di Senocrate, cf. i riferimenti biografici a Isnardi 1981, Whithead 1981 e Dorandi 1997, 276–7.

ἐν τ]ῶι [πεΙρὶ τῆς ῥητορικῆς.²0 Crönert proponeva:²1 καθά]π[ερ ὁ] Φαληρεὺς Ι σο[φιστὴς ἐν τ]ῶι ποι[λιτικῶι φησι, richiamando il titolo Περὶ πολιτικῶν αβ (D.L. 5.80), ma dichiarando onestamente che altre integrazioni sono possibili.²2 La Isnardi²3 non esclude, invece, un riferimento alle Συναγωγαὶ δημηγοριῶν καὶ πρεσβειῶν ricordate ancora da Diogene Laerzio nel catalogo delle opere di Demetrio. Pure interessante, questo suggerimento non trova conferma nelle tracce superstiti della tradizione.

- I.3. Nell'ultimo luogo della *Retorica* (F 60 W = 37) Filodemo,²⁴ per dimostrare come nei dominati più che nelle democrazie i sudditi sono ammirati se possiedono determinate virtù, cita l'esempio dell' atteggiamento assunto da Filippo II di Macedonia nei confronti di Pitone²⁵ e da Tolemeo I verso Demetrio del Falero. Il retroscena riporta, senza dubbio, al soggiorno di Demetrio alla Corte di Tolemeo I Soter a Alessandria d'Egitto, dopo la morte di Cassandro, a partire dal 298/7.²⁶
- I.4. Queste testimonianze sui non buoni rapporti fra Demetrio e Senocrate mettono ulteriormente in dubbio la notizia di Mironiano di Amastri riportata da Diogene Laerzio²⁷ che Demetrio avrebbe acquistato Senocrate venduto schiavo perché non era in grado di pagare la tassa dei meteci (μετοίκιον): con il suo intervento, Demetrio avrebbe restituito la libertà al filosofo e pagato lui stesso la tassa. Piú verisimile risulta, in effetti, la versione dell'episodio tramandata dallo pseudo-Plutarco e da Plutarco,²⁸ secondo cui fu Licurgo a svolgere quel ruolo nei confronti di Senocrate. Quell'atto di rispetto verso il filosofo academico e l'intervento giuridico a suo favore si comprendono meglio se riferiti a Licurgo, una cui appartenenza all'Academia pare accertata. Licurgo aveva potuto agire probabilmente in qualità di preposto ἐπὶ τῆ διοικήσει τῶν χρημάτων (carica tenuta all'incirca dal 338/7 al 327/6),

²⁰ Ne accettano il testo Wehrli e Isnardi.

²¹ Crönert 1906, 68 e n. 332. Lo studioso dichiara di aver letto σο di σο[φιστής sul papiro.

F. Jacoby, FGrHist IIB 653 giudica l'integrazione non solo incerta, ma inverisimile in quanto si richiederebbe piuttosto qualcosa come: ἐν α' (β') τῶ⟨ν⟩ πο[λιτικῶν.

²³ Isnardi 1981, 137 n. 1 e *Ead.*, *Senocrate* 1981, 298.

²⁴ Phld., *Rh.*, *PHerc.* 1004, col. 101, vol. 1.377 (F 60 W = **37**).

²⁵ Pitone di Ainos, discepolo di Platone, o Pitone di Bisanzio, discepolo di Isocrate?

²⁶ Cf. J.-P. Schneider, Démétrios de Phalère, in Dictionnaire des Philosophes Antiques 2, ed. R. Goulet, 630 (Paris: CNRS 1994).

²⁷ D.L. 4.14.

²⁸ Ps.-Plut. *X orat. vitae* 842b = Senocr. F 14 e Plut. *Tit. Flam.* 12.7 = F 15.

durante i primi anni, dunque, dello scolarcato di Senocrate. Non importa qui stabilire in che cosa consistesse concretamente l'intervento di Licurgo: se si fosse trattato di una esenzione permanente dalla tassa di meteco, egli avrebbe dovuto richiedere per Senocrate un atto di ἀτέλεια τοῦ μετοικίου ο di ἰσοτέλεια.²⁹ In ogni modo, resta, pur sempre, significativo il fatto che una parte almeno della tradizione abbia cercato, a un determinato momento, di conciliare Demetrio e Senocrate. Un fatto questo, che può trovare una plausibile giustificazione nel dato storico della persecuzione cui l'Academia e il Peripato andarono soggetti durante la restaurazione democratica del Poliorcete.³⁰

- I.5. La presenza di Demetrio nei papiri egiziani è piú limitata. In un frammento di un papiro di Lille si legge:³¹ Callistene e Demetrio, sebbene eccellenti retori, non riuscirono a evitare di cadere in disgrazia nei loro rapporti rispettivamente con Alessandro Magno e Tolemeo II Filadelfo. Il riferimento è, senza dubbio, allo stato di prigionia imposto da Tolemeo II a Demetrio, che aveva tentato invano di persuadere Tolemeo I a designare come suoi successori i figli avuti da Euridice, mentre il sovrano aveva preferito il figlio natogli da Berenice, Tolemeo II.³²
- I.6. Un altro frammento della Collezione dei papiri dell'Istituto "G. Vitelli" di Firenze, ancora inedito, presentato dal Professore Manfredi al XXI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia a Berlino nell'agosto 1995 (PSI Inv. CNR 70) contiene probabilmente resti di un'opera, altrimenti inattestata, di Demetrio del Falero.³³ In quella che si presume sia la soscrizione del rotolo leggiamo con sicurezza un titolo: Δημητρίου | ὑπὲρ ἐλέου. Un dicolon dopo ἐλέου conferma che la parola finiva lí e che lo scritto aveva come oggetto una trattazione della "compassione." Le poche parole conservate sembrano riportare a un contesto politico: vi si scorgono, infatti, riferimenti alla tirannide e a tiranni e al nome di Pisistrato. L'attribuzione di un'opera ὑπὲρ ἐλέου a Demetrio del Falero, ancora incerta, non parrebbe impossibile, tenuto

²⁹ Cf. Isnardi 1981, 46 n. 41, 279s., 284s. e *Ead.*, *Biografia* 1981, 144–45; Whitehead 1981, 235–38.

³⁰ Cf. I. Düring, *Herodicus the Cratetean* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand 1941) 84ss., le cui conclusioni sono condivise dalla Isnardi 1981, 46 n. 41.

³¹ PLille 88 riproposto da A. Linguiti, CPF I 1** (Firenze: Olschki 1992) 3-5: 42 1T (= **41**).

³² Cf. D.L. 5.78-79 = F 69 W = 1).

Rigrazio il Professore M. Manfredi per avermi permesso di dare notizia del nuovo testo anche in occasione del Convegno di Boulder.

anche conto delle sue vicende biografiche, ma soltanto la pubblicazione del frustulo potrà dissolvere i dubbi e consentire eventuali ulteriori progressi.

I.7. Resterebbe qualcosa da dire a proposito del PSI 2.144³⁴ che conserva forse resti di una epitome dell'opera περί ἀρχαίας κωμφδίας di Eratostene di Cirene (il cui nome è citato alla 1. 8).35 Sul papiro si legge un aspro giudizio su talune eccentricità del modo di porgere (ὑπόκρισις) di Demostene rimproverato di esser balbuziente e di muovere la spalla in modo effeminato, vizi che avrebbe corretto grazie a un costante esercizio. L'autorità di Eratostene viene richiamata a proposito di un giuramento in versi peculiare di Demostene e di alcuni suoi difetti di pronuncia. Le critiche sono le stesse mosse da Demetrio a Demostene di essere oratore di categoria inferiore perché ἐπιμελης μαλλον η εύφυής: incapace di improvvisare e abile solo a tenere discorsi già scritti.³⁶ Sebbene il nome di Demetrio non compaia nella parte conservata del frammento, parrebbe plausibile supporre che fosse stato citato nelle linee precedenti, ora perdute.³⁷ Tutte queste notizie risalirebbero, pertanto, a Demetrio, anche se indirettamente. Il papiro conserverebbe, dunque, una epitome di uno scritto di Eratostene che, a sua volta, avrebbe epitomato Demetrio. Fonte ultima di Demetrio sarebbe stata, infine, una commedia.³⁸

II. Questi in un breve sommario di conclusioni i risultati della mia indagine sulla tradizione papirologica di Demetrio del Falero. Per quanto riguarda questo autore, se si escludono il frammento fiorentino inedito, la cui paternità demetriaca pare accertata, e il PSI 2.144, non ci sono novità sorprendenti, nel senso che i papiri non hanno incrementato il numero dei testi nella silloge di Wehrli. Il Papiro di Lille 88, infatti, non aggiunge niente a quanto già conoscevamo. Qualche progresso di

³⁴ Pubblicato, per la prima volta, da G. Vitelli, *PSI* 2 (Firenze, Ariani 1913) 69-71 e riproposto da I. Gallo, *Frammenti biografici da papiri, I: La biografia politica* (Roma: Ateneo 1975) 141-61 (con la tav. VI). Ora **135C**.

Riferisco, in maniera molto sommaria, i risultati raggiunti da C. Cooper, "The Tradition of Demosthenes' Speech Impediment," (articolo ancora inedito, una cui copia ha circolato a Boulder). Per Eratostene, cf. H.-G. Nesselrath, *Die attische Mittlere Komödie* (Berlin e New York 1990) 176-80.

³⁶ Plut. *Demosth.* 9.3 (= F 163W= **135A**); Phot. *Bibl.* 493a 41 (F 164 W= **135B**) e ps.-Plut. *X orat. vitae* 845a (non raccolto da Wehrli né da SOD).

³⁷ Gallo 1975, 156.

³⁸ Queste le conclusioni cui giunge Cooper (citato alla n. 35).

ordine testuale deriva, invece, dalla autopsia dei singoli passi, conservati, nella loro totalità, dai Papiri di Ercolano. Novità si registrano anche nella ricostruzione degli eventi sottesi ai giudizi espressi da Demetrio su Senocrate.



7

Demetrius of Phalerum on Literature*

Franco Montanari

Relatively little is known of Demetrius of Phalerum's writings on literature, reflecting his interest in literary works and the personalities of poets and writers, even less than is known concerning his production in other fields of learning, such as philosophy, historical-political studies, oratory or rhetoric. Diogenes Laertius states that he outstripped all the Peripatetics of his day in quantity of books and number of lines, for he was highly educated and rich in experience in a multitude of fields: he composed historical and political works, essays on poets and treatises on rhetoric, made collections of public and diplomatic speeches, compilations of Aesop's fables, and much else.²

In addition to the generic information concerning Demetrius of Phalerum's writings on poets (τὰ περὶ ποιητῶν), Diogenes Laertius also provides us with a few titles. On Homer we have a Περὶ Ἰλιάδος in two

^{*} English translation by Rachel Barritt.

¹ Tertullian, Apolog. 18, defines him as "grammaticorum tunc probatissimus" (62 SOD = fr. 188 W [Die Schule des Aristoteles. Texte und Kommentar, hrsg. v. F. Wehrli: 4. Demetrios von Phaleron, 2nd ed. (Basel and Stuttgart 1968)] = 228 T 10 FGrH); "grammaticus" is the definition given also by Marius Vittorinus, Ars Gramm. I 4 = 147= fr. 196 W.

 $^{^{2}}$ DL 5.80-81 = 1.58-109 = fr. 74 (+189) W = 228 T 1 FGrH.

books, a Περὶ 'Οδυσσείας in three books, a 'Ομηρικός in one book.3 We are also told of a Περὶ 'Αντιφάνους in one book, on the subject of Antiphanes, an eminent poet of the Middle Comedy who was active in the first half of the fourth century.4 It is interesting to note that this book concerned an author who was fairly close in time to Demetrius of Phalerum (Antiphanes may have been perhaps a couple of generations older, or thereabouts), but unfortunately no fragment at all has come down to us.5 As far as the poets are concerned, nothing else remains: Homeric criticism represents the only setting from which one can hope to derive some results. We will return to this later.

One difficulty consists of attribution problems, due to the fact that our sources sometimes simply quote the name "Demetrios" without specification, in a situation in which homonymy is far from rare. In the history of the editions of Demetrius of Phalerum fragments, this type of uncertainty has given rise to a number of oscillations, some of which are quite curious. The old Ostermann collection⁶ was rather generous and included many citations which were later attributed to other figures bearing the name "Demetrios." Jacoby, on the other hand, openly declared he would not include all the fragments allowed by Ostermann, although the exclusion criterion he adopted is not altogether clear. In FGrH 228

 $^{^{3}}$ **143–6** = frr. 190–93 W: see below.

⁴ 1.102 = fr. 194 W = Antiphanes T 5 PCG. A syngramma was devoted to Antiphanes also by Dorotheus of Ascalon, a grammarian of the first imperial age: Athen. 14.662f = Antiphanes T 7 PCG; for Aristophanes of Byzantium v. fr. 369 Slater = Antiphanes T 6 PCG.

Materials bei Suda s.v. und im Anonymus De comoedia 13 p. 9 Kaibel." I venture to propose a very hazardous suggestion, not to be taken seriously. Plutarch (*Demosth.* 9.3-4 = 135A = fr. 163 W) and Photius (*Bibl.* 493a41 = 135B = fr. 164 W) report that Demetrius of Phalerum says that once Demosthenes, as if under inspiration, swore the famous metrical oath "by land, by springs, by rivers, by floods" and so he caused an uproar in the assembly and that the episode was ridiculed by the comic poets. Now, ps.-Plutarch (*Vitae dec. orat.* 845b) tells that the comic poets Antiphanes and Timocles made fun of Demosthenes in their comedies and then quotes the same oath, adding that in this way Demosthenes caused an uproar in the assembly. No explicit connection is stated, but perhaps it is possible to imagine that the point regarding Demetrius of Phalerum about Demosthenes could be traced back to his book about Antiphanes and originated from a comment or an analysis of a comedy of Antiphanes dealing with Demosthenes.

⁶ Chr. Ostermann, Commentatio de Demetrii Phalerei vita, rebus gestis et scriptorum reliquiis (Progr. Hersfeld 1847; Fulda 1857).

⁷ FGrH 228, II B Komm., 641: "Ostermann ... mit bisher vollständigster sammlung der fragmente, die hier nicht alle aufgenommen sind (s.u. p. 648, 32)."

Komm. he states: "nicht aufgenommen sind außer den dürftigen überresten von reden (o. p. 643, 44; 645, 19) und den Xpeîai (o. p. 644, 26) eine reihe von zitaten in den Homerscholien (II. Z 414; Ξ 221; N 5; Π 411; Eust. II. O 680; Schol. Od. σ 17; Athen. V 4 p. 177 EF), die apophthegmata...." The same considerations are found in Wehrli, in the introductory comment to the fragments of "philological" works (85): "Demetrios allein bedeutet in Zitaten besonders für grammatikalische Fragen wahrscheinlich den Aristarcheer D. Ixion (Ostermann frr. 58-62; cf. Martini 2835, 20°; Bayer 140¹°: es handelt sich um die Scholien zu Homer Z 414; N 5; Ξ 221; Π 411; Eustath. zu O 680; schol. σ 17)." However, in this list Wehrli stops at sch. Od. σ 17, since in his edition he naturally does not omit the certain fragment found in Athen. V 177 ef, as we will see shortly (actually **143** = fr. 190 Wehrli).

Examining this series, one finds that in sch. *Il.* 6.414, 13.5, 14.221, 16.411 and *Od.* 18.17 there is a citation of a "Demetrios" without specification: these fragments have been attributed to the grammarian Demetrius Ixion (whose name recurs in another twenty or so cases in Homer Scholia, where he is cited also as $\Delta \eta \mu \dot{\eta} \tau \rho \iota \sigma \dot{\sigma}$ 'Ιξίων or only $\dot{\sigma}$ 'Ιξίων). In contrast, the citation of "Demetrios" in Eustathius' commentary *ad Il.* 15.680 (1037.57) = **174** certainly belongs to the grammarian Demetrius Gonypesós, as confirmed by the parallel sch. ex. *Il.* 15.683–84, in which he is cited with his full name (as in the other two extant fragments of Demetrius Gonypesós). Therefore as far as these six fragments are concerned, Jacoby's omission (in contrast to Ostermann's inclusion) would appear to have been guided by uncertainty in the attribution and perhaps even by awareness of the different authorship possibilities.

Consequently, it comes as something of a surprise to note the omission in Jacoby's collection of the fragment preserved by Athenaeus

⁸ II B Komm., 648, 32ff.

⁹ E. Martini, *Demetrios* 85, in *RE* IV 2 (1901) 2817ff.

¹⁰ E. Bayer, "Demetrius Phalereus der Athener," Tübinger Beiträge z. Altertumsw. 36 (1942).

The cases in question are respectively fr. 7 = 48, 14, 15, 18, 25 in T. Staesche, De Demetrio Ixione grammatico (Halis Sax. 1883) = 170, 172, 171, 173, 175; one can also add sch. Il. 15.194, quoting "Demetrios" = fr. 17 Staesche. In Scholia and other erudite sources "Demetrios" without specification is likely to be Demetrius Ixion, of course, particularly concerning grammatical and philological questions: cf. also Wehrli, quoted above.

¹² Cf. M. van der Valk ad Eust. l.c.; Erbse ad sch. Il. cit.

book V, 177 ef, which is certainly a Demetrius of Phalerum fragment, accompanied as it is by the complete citation of the name $\Delta\eta\mu\dot{\eta}\tau\rho\iotaο\varsigma$ ὁ $\Phi\alpha\lambda\eta\rho\epsilon\dot{\nu}\varsigma$ (143 = fr. 190 W, see below). If one surmises that Jacoby omitted it on account of the type of its "philological" content, then one may wonder why he included sch. *Od.* 3.267 + Tzetzes *Prol. ad Lycophr.* 4.5ff. (FGrH 228 F 32a-b = 144, 146 = frr. 191-192 W) and Stobaeus 3.5.43 (FGrH 228 F 33 = 145 = fr. 193 W), to which we will turn shortly: the claim that the latter two exemplify contents that are partly of a historical-cultural nature, in addition to observations on literary interpretation, is not a valid explanation, since a similar claim could easily be made regarding the above-mentioned Athenaeus fragment. In actual fact, these three (or four) certain fragments, i.e. with the complete name $\Delta\eta\mu\dot{\eta}\tau\rho\iotaο\varsigma$ ὁ $\Phi\alpha\lambda\eta\rho\epsilon\dot{\nu}\varsigma$, form the entire stock of Homeric interpretation of Demetrius on which considerations can be made. This group of fragments will be dealt with in depth later.

Another problem is that of sch. AD ad Il. 6.35, in which a "Demetrios" is cited. Jacoby includes this scholium in the Zweifelhaftes und Unechtes section of Demetrius of Phalerum fragments (FGrH 228 F 50 = 157), and he comments telegraphically: "zitate D.s in den Homer-scholien o. p. 648, 34." In other words, he refers back to none other than the place seen above, in which he lists the citations from Homer Scholia he had omitted in his collection: but this one, also bearing only the name "Demetrios," is indeed present, albeit in the Zweifelhaftes und Unechtes section. The same situation is found in Wehrli's edition, where the fragment is included in the section headed Unbestimmbares, Zweifelhaftes, Unechtes, numbered 207= 157, and the comment says nothing at all about its authorship. This is a Homeric scholium of the D class, one of the well-known mythographical ίστορίαι of the so-called Mythographus Homericus, 13 which tells of the conquest of the city of Pedasos by Achilles. The subscription says h ίστορία παρά Δημητρίφ καὶ 'Ησιόδφ: the 'Demetrios' cited here has been identified elsewhere with Demetrius of Scepsis and therefore the scholium has been included in the collection of fragments of the latter.¹⁴ Statements in favour of Demetrius of Scepsis can also be found by

¹³ F. Montanari, "The Mythographus Homericus," Greek Literary Theory after Aristotle. A Collection of Papers in Honour of D. M. Schenkeveld (Amsterdam: University Press, 1995) 135–72, with bibliography.

¹⁴ R. Gaede, Demetrii Scepsii quae supersunt (Diss. Gryphiswaldae 1880) fr. 32.

Merkelbach-West in the edition of Hesiod fragments (fr. 214). In addition, Erbse (who did not include the D-Scholia in his edition of the Scholia to the *Iliad*) reports the two attributions without committing himself in any direction.

But perhaps something a little more definite can be said concerning this fragment. We do not yet have a modern critical edition of the Scholia D in Iliadem and for these Scholia the text of the 1517 editio princeps by Janus Lascaris is used, while the Dindorf edition of the Scholia A in Iliadem can be used for the D-Scholia extracts contained in the codex Ven. A. As mentioned above, Erbse did not include the D class in his edition and merely gave an indication whenever a D-Scholium happened to be present in codex A (as is the case here, and so it is labelled as a sch. AD). It is known, perhaps, that I have long been working on an edition of the Scholia D in Iliadem. I have found that in the most authoritative manuscript of these scholia, the codex C partly preserved in Rome and partly in Madrid (dated between the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century), 15 the subscription of the ἱστορία in question is different from that given in the AHRV codices.

ή ίστορία παρὰ Δημητρίφ καὶ Ἡσιόδφ	ARV
ίστορεῖ Δημήτριος καὶ Ἡσίοδος	H
ίστορεῖ Δημήτριος ὁ †ἀσκητης†	C

I would argue that the blatant corruption of C masks the correct original subscription ἱστορεῖ Δημήτριος ὁ Σκήψιος. In addition I also suspect that the name of Hesiod could be the fruit of a conjecture intended to amend the corrupted ἀσκητης, but this is perhaps casting my net too far. A good parallel for the Δημήτριος ὁ Σκήψιος solution in sch. Il. 6.35 is offered by the subscription of the D-Scholium to Il. 20.3 in the manuscripts: ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Δημητρίφ τῷ Σκηψίφ, confirmed by a parchment fragment, P. Schubart 21, of the fifth century A.D. (the alternation between the formula ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ + dative or ἱστορεῖ + nominative does not constitute a problem). If these considerations are acceptable,

¹⁵ Cf. F. Montanari, Studi di filologia omerica antica I (Pisa: Giardini, 1979) passim; Studi di filologia omerica antica II (Pisa: Giardini, 1995) partic. 147ff.

¹⁶ Doubts on the Hesiodic contents of the sch. also in Merkelbach-West, apparatus to the fr. 214.

 $^{^{17}}$ Cf. Montanari, "Myth Hom." 1995 (see note 13). To my knowledge, *Il.* 6.35 and 20.3 contain the only two citations of a "Demetrios" of the *Scholia D in Iliadem* as they have been edited (Lascaris) and in both cases the citation is $\Delta \eta \mu \dot{\eta} \tau \rho \iota \sigma \zeta \dot{\sigma} \Sigma \kappa \dot{\eta} \psi \iota \sigma \zeta$. Another two can be derived from the manuscripts, with the bare "Demetrios," that is

then sch. AD ad Il. 6.35 has to be regarded as indeed containing a remnant of Demetrius of Scepsis and definitely not of Demetrius of Phalerum.

Quite different is the case of the citation in Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Κορώπη, where it would appear that a hypomnema to Nicander is attributed precisely to Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς. Wehrli includes the fragment in his section Unbestimmbares, Zweifelhaftes, Unechtes, listing it as Nr. 208 = 158 and specifying in the comment that a hypomnema by Demetrius of Phalerum to Nicander "ist chronologisch unmöglich; mit Recht nimmt man an, daß der Phalereer mit Demetrios Chloros verwechselt wird.¹⁸ Jacoby, on the other hand, omits the fragment altogether: a somewhat bizarre editorial choice, as the presence of the full name would certainly suggest it should be included among the spuria with an ad hoc explanation (see Jacoby himself for 228 F 51 = 65and 52 = 66). That the reference of Stephanus of Byzantium is to Demetrios Chloros (cited elsewhere in the Nicander Scholia) is in my view virtually certain, and in any case there can hardly be any doubt that Demetrius of Phalerum is to be ruled out here: but, I believe, the presence of the full name needs to be mentioned and discussed in a collection of Demetrius of Phalerum fragments.

This is an isolated example in which the authenticity of a fragment that has come down to us in a text presenting the citation of the full name of $\Delta\eta\mu\dot{\eta}\tau\rho\iota\sigma\varsigma$ or $\Phi\alpha\lambda\eta\rho\epsilon\dot{\nu}\varsigma$ has to be rejected. Problems often arise elsewhere from the fact that, as mentioned earlier, one sometimes finds citation of a "Demetrios" without specification. This problem is compounded by the existence of several homonyms, especially when dealing with scholiographic, lexicographic and other erudite sources.

Before going further into this matter, I would like to make a remark concerning what we have considered so far. Discussion has centered on a fairly limited number of examples, but has concretely confirmed what I believe to be a fairly widespread opinion, namely that we sorely lack a reliable edition of the fragments of Demetrius of Phalerum and that it is extremely desirable to have a new edition based on serious re-examina-

sch. D *Il.* 5.906 and 6.23: the first may be Demetrius Ixion according to Erbse *ad loc.*, the second could be Demetrius of Scepsis.

¹⁸ Cf. F. Susemihl, Geschichte der griechischen Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891–92; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965) II:20; W. Kroll, Nikandros 11, in RE XVII 1 (1936) 262; C. Guhl, Die Fragmente des Alexandrinischen Grammatikers Theon (Diss. Hamburg 1969) 4.

tion of the evidence. I am far from convinced that the editions currently available—I mean, editions of various figures named "Demetrios"—have provided the best or the most plausible solution in all the cases in which the sources exhibit the citation of a "Demetrios" without any specification. ¹⁹ It should not be overlooked that new editions, above all of scholiographic and lexicographic works, may well lead to notable progress in this field. However, this is a problem that goes beyond the scope of my paper.

The observations made so far have been concerned with criticism of poetry: we will investigate Homeric criticism in greater depth, but it is appropriate at this point to offer a few words on prose writers first. The Demetrius fragments concerning prose works are normally set in the framework of rhetorical or rhetorical-philosophical production. However when treatises on rhetoric make direct use of authors' works, with detailed close stylistic analysis, it is clear that such treatises are in some sense grounded on interpretation of the texts. This means that they have a close relationship with hermeneutic and literary criticism, and it is certainly true that there are naturally overlapping areas and shared materials between these disciplines. Let us examine one case regarding Plato.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in *de Demosth*. 5, severely criticizes Plato's use of the high style. When Plato indulges in sophisticated stylistic refinements and fine flourishes of phrase, Dionysius argues, he reveals a number of flaws. Dionysius lists a number of criticisms and concludes by claiming that Plato makes excessive and clumsy use of allegory, unpleasant figures of speech and Gorgianic expressions introduced in an inappropriate and puerile manner, to the point of appearing as some kind of possessed mystic, as maintained by Demetrius of Phalerum and many others as well (133 = fr. 170 W = 228 F 11b FGrH).

1. ἡ δὲ δὴ Πλατωνικὴ διάλεκτος βούλεται μὲν εἶναι καὶ αὐτὴ μῖγμα ἑκατέρων τῶν χαρακτήρων, τοῦ δὲ ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἰσχνοῦ, καθάπερ εἴρηταί μοι πρότερον, πέφυκε δ' οὐχ ὁμοίως πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς χαρακτῆρας εὐτυχής. 2. ὅταν μὲν οὖν τὴν ἰσχνὴν καὶ ἀφελῆ καὶ ἀποίητον ἐπιτηδεύῃ φράσιν, ἐκτόπως ἡδεῖά ἐστι καὶ φιλάνθρωπος · καθαρὰ γὰρ ἀποχρώντως γίνεται καὶ διαυγής ... 4. ... ὅταν δὲ εἰς τὴν περιττολογίαν καὶ τὸ καλλιεπεῖν, ὃ πολλάκις εἴωθε ποιεῖν, ἄμετρον ὁρμὴν λάβῃ, πολλῷ χείρων ἑαυτῆς γίνεται ... 6. ἀλληγορίας τε περιβάλλεται πολλὰς ⟨καὶ μακράς⟩, οὕτε μέτρον ἐχούσας οὕτε καιρόν. σχήμασί τε ποιητικοῖς ἐσχάτην

¹⁹ For ex. quotations of "Demetrios" in Aristophanes Scholia, which are attributed to Demetrius of Scepsis.

προσβάλλουσιν ἀηδίαν καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς Γοργιείοις ἀκαίρως καὶ μειρακιωδῶς ἐναβρύνεται. καὶ ῶπολὺς ὁ τελετὴς ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις παρ' αὐτῷώ, ὡς καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς εἴρηκέ που καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος.

Attacked for his biting criticism of Plato, Dionysius then replied in self-defense with the Letter to Pompey Geminos, in which he also endeavoured to correct his position: in this second work Dionysius quotes his own de Demosth. passage containing criticisms of Plato's style together with the citation of Demetrius of Phalerum. Shortly prior to this self-quotation, Dionysius (Epist. ad Pomp. 1.16 = 133 = fr. 195 W = 228 F 11a FGrH) defends himself by arguing that many others before him had voiced criticism of Plato's ideas and mode of expression, starting with his most important disciple Aristotle and subsequently Cephisodorus, Theopompus, Zoilus, Hippodamas, Demetrius (of Phalerum) and many others, all of them not motivated by envy or mean-spiritedness, but simply in search of the truth.

καὶ γὰρ τὰ δόγματα διέβαλον αὐτοῦ τινες καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐμέμψατο πρῶτον μὲν ὁ γνησιώτατος αὐτοῦ μαθητὴς 'Αριστοτέλης, ἔπειτα οἱ περὶ Κηφισόδωρόν τε καὶ Θεόπομπον καὶ Ζωΐλον καὶ Ίπποδάμαντα καὶ Δημήτριον καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί, οὐ διὰ φθόνον ἢ διὰ φιλαπεχθημοσύνην κωμφδοῦντες ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐξετάζοντες.

Demetrius of Phalerum is adduced by Dionysius of Halicarnassus as a precedent for criticism of Plato²⁰ and it is highly plausible to suggest that Dionysius of Halicarnassus may also have used Demetrius of

²⁰ Cf. Wehrli on fr. 170 for parallels of criticism of Plato's use of the high style in Peripatetic circles, from Aristotle to Dicaearchus (see fr. 42 W, from DL 3.38 [Die Schule des Aristoteles. Texte und Kommentar, 2nd ed., hrsg. v. F. Wehrli: 2. Dikaiarchos, Basel and Stuttgart 1967]).

Phalerum as a source for some of his own arguments. The catalogue of Diogenes Laertius mentions no work by Demetrius of Phalerum on Plato and it may perhaps be said that hypothesizing a specific work Περὶ Πλάτωνος or some such title is unnecessary. Where Demetrius of Phalerum is cited in isolation (i.e. in *de Demosth*. 5, reproduced in *Letter to Pompey* 2 = 133 = fr. 170), the content of the citation is stylistic-rhetorical, while in the other case (*Epist. ad Pomp.* 1.16 = 133 = fr. 195) his name is included within a group of figures jointly described as critics of Plato's doctrines and dialogues. If Demetrius of Phalerum criticized Plato also or predominantly on the grounds of style, this may have been encompassed within a work on rhetoric extending to much broader horizons, even in the Περὶ ῥητορικῆς. In any case, this is exactly what we could regard as fragments of "literary criticism" concerning prose writers.

It will have become clear from what we have seen so far that the theme of "Demetrius of Phalerum on Poetry" seems in fact to be restricted to "Demetrius of Phalerum on Homer." It is indeed the case that Homeric criticism is the area in which we have a small number of pieces of definite evidence, which allow us to achieve results. As I pointed out earlier, Diogenes Laertius provides us with three titles concerning Homeric issues: Περὶ Ἰλιάδος in two books, Περὶ Ὀδυσσείας in three books, ὑμηρικός in one book. While the first two fit perfectly into the well-known typology of peripatetic Περὶ-Literature or Problemata-Literatur, the third could have been a speech²¹ or, perhaps more likely, a dialogue, although this by no means excludes the possibility that it may have contained exegetic reflections on passages from the Iliad or the Odyssey. However the evidence that has come down to us never contains any indication of the work from which the fragments came.

Let us begin by examining the fragment in Athenaeus, *Deipn*. V 177 e-f, which concerns *Iliad* 2.409 (**143** = fr. 190 W; omittit Jacoby, FGrH 228). It occurs in the context of a discussion on the *symposia* and above all on who should be invited to attend. Athenaeus says that Homer also gives indications as to which persons do not require any invitation but instead come to a feast on their own initiative. An example is given from the chieftain's dinner arranged by Agamemnon after testing the army's morale in *Iliad* book 2: Homer says (2.404–7) that Agamemnon invited

²¹ Cf. Wehrli, comm., 85: "eine rhetorische Deklamation wie Dion von Prusa oratio LIII, denn solche Reden über Homer sind alte Uebung."

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the Achean princes, and he mentions Nestor, Idomeneus, the two Aiaxes, Diomedes, Odysseus. He then adds (2.408) that Menelaus came αὐτόματος, of his own accord. Athenaeus comments: "For it is plain that neither a brother, nor parents, nor wife need be invited, nor anyone else whom one holds in equal esteem with these: otherwise it would be cold and unfriendly. And yet some authorities have added a verse which further explains the reason: "for he knew in his heart that his brother was troubled" [v. 409]—as though it were necessary to tell the reason why a brother might come to dinner of his own accord..." (177 c). After a prolonged explanation of the absurdity of adding 1. 409 to introduce a non-existent motivation, Athenaeus continues with an illustration of the opinions of the grammarian Athenocles of Cyzicus and those of Demetrius of Phalerum:

'Αθηνοκλης δ' ὁ Κυζικηνὸς μᾶλλον 'Αριστάρχου κατακούων τῶν 'Ομηρικῶν ἐπῶν εὐπαιδευτότερον ἡμῖν φησι τοῦτον 'Όμηρον καταλιπεῖν, ὅσφ της ἀνάγκης ὁ Μενέλεως οἰκειοτέρως εἶχεν. Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐπαρίστερον τὴν τοῦ στίχου παράληψιν ἐπειπὼν καὶ της ποιήσεως ἀλλοτρίαν, τὸν

ήδεε γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀδελφεὸν ὡς ἐπονεῖτο (B 409)

μικρολογίαν ἐμβάλλειν τοῖς ἤθεσιν. "οἶμαι γάρ, φησίν, ἕκαστον τῶν χαριέντων ἀνθρώπων ἔχειν καὶ οἰκεῖον καὶ φίλον πρὸς ὃν ἂν ἔλθοι θυσίας οὕσης τὸν καλοῦντα μὴ περιμείνας." Πλάτων δ' ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγει οὕτως (p. 174 b) κτλ.

Athenocles of Cyzicus, with a better understanding of the Homeric poetry than Aristarchus, explains to us with greater refinement that Homer passed Menelaus over without mention because he was more closely related in kinship to Agamemnon. And Demetrius of Phalerum declared that the inclusion of the verse "for he knew in his heart that his brother was troubled" is awkward and foreign to the poet's style, and imputes meanness to the characters. "For," says he, "I think that every man of refinement has someone, either relative or friend, to whom he can go when a feast is on without waiting for an invitation." And Plato, in *The Symposium*, has this to say on the same subject (p. 174b) etc.²³

Athenaeus then goes on to discuss the passage from the Symposium where Plato quotes the proverb according to which the ἀγαθοί go αὐτόματοι to the feasts held by the ἀγαθοί: Plato also mentions the passage from Iliad 2.407ff. with a disquisition as to whether or not it

²² Transl. by C. Burton Gulick (Loeb 1928).

²³ Ibid.

was suitable for Homer to present Menelaus as going αὐτόματος to Agamemnon's dinner, claiming that Menelaus ranked below Agamemnon. However in Plato there is no reference to 1. 409 and no mention in the terms discussed above of the attendant problems it could raise. Therefore Demetrius of Phalerum is the most ancient authority we have on this particular question. Basically, then, what we are dealing with is a problem of internal coherence of the Homeric passage. For if it is right and proper, according to the established rules of personal relations, for Menelaus to go to Agamemnon's dinner of his own accord, i.e. αὐτόματος, as 1. 408 would have it, then the motivation supplied in 1. 409 is quite out of place: it "is awkward and foreign to the poet's style, and imputes meanness to the characters."

Introducing the discussion on the discrepancy of 1. 409, Athenaeus asserts that some authorities have added the verse (τινές στίχον προσέγραψαν), i.e. that the line was an interpolation²⁴ which had evidently been added without accepting or without understanding the supposed profound value of the declaration that Menelaus went αὐτόματος to Agamemnon's dinner. That 1. 409 was not authentic was clearly also the opinion held by Demetrius of Phalerum, who argued that acceptance of the line would have been foreign to the poet's style (της ποιήσεως άλλοτρίαν). However we cannot definitely state that he was the first to maintain that 1. 409 is spurious, but only that to our knowledge he is the most ancient author to have expressed this opinion.²⁵ The suggestion of deleting the line was certainly a subject of discussion among Alexandrian philologists. Like Demetrius of Phalerum, Athenocles of Cyzicus (a grammarian of the Alexandrian age, possibly anterior to Aristarchus or at the most contemporary, against whom the Aristarchean pupil Ammonios polemically wrote a Πρὸς 'Αθηνοκλέα²⁶) was favorable to athetizing the line. It would also appear that Aristarchus held the opposite view and did not athetize the line (allusion in the words:

²⁴ Cf. A. Ludwich, Aristarchs Homerische Textkritik (Leipzig: Teubner, 1884–85; repr. Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 1971) I:216–17; M. van der Valk, Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad (Leiden: Brill, 1963–64) II:499; H. Erbse ad sch. Il. 2.405–9; discussed by G. S. Kirk, The Iliad. A Commentary, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) I:157–58 (409 possible oral or rhapsodic expansion of 408?).

²⁵ Ludwich, l.c.: "Von wem die Athetese des genannten Verses ausging, sagt er [scil. Athenaeus] nicht."

²⁶ L. Cohn, Athenokles 5, in RE II 2 (1896) 2049; Ludwich 1884–85, I:49, 51; M. Mueller, De Seleuco Homerico (Diss. Göttingen 1891) 11–14.

μᾶλλον 'Αριστάρχου κατακούων τῶν 'Ομηρικῶν ἐπῶν): perhaps a trace of this has remained in the scholia to this passage, where the question is discussed.²⁷ Moreover, the source used by Athenaeus throughout the discussion on 1. 409 shared the view that 1. 409 was not authentic since it was incoherent with 1. 408 and was therefore to be deleted: this source, openly antiaristarchean, is thought to have been the grammarian Seleukos, of the first imperial age, known for his frequently critical attitude towards Aristarchus and the Aristarchean tradition.²⁸ From these considerations, then, it can be concluded that this specific problem of internal consistency of the Homeric passage was indeed a subject of discussion among Alexandrian philologists: Aristarchus (and pupils and followers as well?) interpreted the text in such a manner as to save 1. 409, while others (like Demetrius of Phalerum, Athenocles of Cyzicus, Athenaeus' source [Seleukos?]) emphasized the inconsistency and opted in favor of athetizing it.

The most ancient authority known to have noticed these contradictory elements and to have believed the line to be spurious was, we said, Demetrius of Phalerum. It seems likely that we have the remains of a zétema in genuine peripatetic style, perhaps for example on the Homeric representation of the symposia, on rules and customs in symposia or something of this nature, in which interpretation of the text also led naturally to debate on an issue of coherence. But even if it is clear that Demetrius of Phalerum went as far as to argue explicitly that 1. 2.409 was not "authentic," it is difficult to ascribe to him the further step of proposing an "athetesis" in the strict sense, i.e. in the true Alexandrian sense of the term. However a brief chronological description needs to be given at this point. Demetrius fled to Alexandria after 297 (i.e. after the death of Cassander) and he was certainly still alive in 283 when Ptolemy II came to the throne: it is plausible that in this period he devoted himself particularly to literature. The akmè of Zenodotus is placed under

²⁷ Cf. Erbse *ad* sch. *Il*. 2.408 and 409.

²⁸ On the sources of Athenaeus V 1–20, cf. Mueller 1891, 11–14; I. Düring, Herodicus the Cratetean (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitt. Hist. O. Akt. Akademiens Hanglingar, Del 51:2, 1941) 90–105: the main source of the section dealing with convivial customs is Herodicus of Seleuceia, called ὁ Κρατήτειος, a grammarian of the 2nd c. B.C., a follower of Crates of Mallos and an opponent of Aristarchus and his school; the part concerning *Iliad* 2.404–9 and particularly the discussion of 1. 409 is traced back precisely to Seleukos, of the first imperial age, antiaristarchean as well: it was inserted by some unknown grammarian into Herodicus material. Cf. also Erbse ad sch. *Il.* 2.408 and 409.

Ptolemy I, i.e. before 283, even though he completed his work under Ptolemy II. Therefore there was a period in which Demetrius and Zenodotus were both active in Alexandria, Demetrius being the older of the two (born perhaps around 345) and contributing authoritatively to the development of the city's cultural institutions. Zenodotus, on the other hand, who would have been younger (born perhaps around 330–325), was a preceptor of the royal family and was later appointed as its first librarian.²⁹

In the light of these observations, it is perhaps not altogether unrealistic to suggest that Demetrius of Phalerum's Homeric criticism stimulated debate and in-depth inquiry in Alexandrian intellectual circles during the initial period of Hellenistic philology. Perhaps we may perceive the glimmers here of a first phase in which traditional peripatetic discussions on the works of poets—mainly Homer—provided stimuli and materials that would then be reworked with a variety of different methods, at the dawn of scientific philology. Perhaps this is a single but good example. Perhaps during this period Demetrius of Phalerum's observation on the passage of *Iliad* 2 may actually have given rise to a proposal of a Zenodotean *obelós*. But at this point I have overreached myself in the direction of speculation and a word of caution against the development of hypotheses is in order now.

Stobaeus (3.5.43) preserves a quotation from Hermippus (taken from a work entitled Συναγωγή τῶν καλῶς ἀναφωνηθέντων ἐξ Ὁμήρου), in which it is said that Demetrius of Phalerum claimed that line *Od.* 23.296 had been composed by Homer εἰς σωφροσύνην (Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς εἰς σωφροσύνην ἔλεγε ταῦτα ποιεῖν: **145** = fr. 193 W; FGrHist 228 F 33). We know from Diogenes Laertius that Hermippus wrote on Demetrius of Phalerum (a biography, perhaps?) and it is pos-

²⁹ R. Pfeiffer, History of Classical Scholarship. From the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968) 99ff.; P. M. Fraser, Ptolemaic Alexandria (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972) 114, 314f., 689 f.; R. Blum, Kallimachos. The Alexandrian Library and the Origins of Bibliography (Frankfurt 1977). Engl. transl. by H. H. Wellish (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991) 99-107; N. J. Richardson, Aristotle and Hellenistic Scholarship, in La philologie grecque à l'époque hellénistique et romaine, Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique, tome XL. Entretiens préparés et présidés par Franco Montanari (Vandoeuvres and Genève: Fondation Hardt, 1994) 13f.

³⁰ Hermippus fr. 92 W (*Die Schule des Aristoteles. Texte und Kommentar*, hrsg. v. F. Wehrli: Suppl. 1. *Hermippos der Kallimacheer* [Basel and Stuttgart 1974]).

 $^{^{31}}$ DL 5.78 = Demetrius of Phalerum 1.34-44 = fr. 69 W = Hermippus fr. 58 W.

sible that he lifted Demetrius of Phalerum's observation on Od. 23.296 to include it in a collection of $\kappa\alpha\lambda\hat{\omega}\zeta$ ἀναφωνηθέντα taken from Homer. An analogy with the previous case can be recognized: thus if the previous fragment concerned correct behavior in the *symposia*, here we are dealing with reflections and precepts of a philosophical-moral nature found in Homer, or rather with comments on Homeric passages from a moral point of view.³²

But what is the significance of the observation by Demetrius? Od. 23.296 is the line that ratifies the re-union of Odysseus and Penelope, the very end of Odysseus' wanderings and his return to his family: therefore the $\sigma\omega\phi\rho\sigma\sigma\dot{\nu}\nu\eta$ should reside, I would argue, in Odysseus' preference for returning home and accepting the love of his legitimate spouse, rejecting the temptations and enticements that lured him during his journeys, as well as in Penelope's patient wait for her legitimate husband's return as against all the overtures and gifts from her suitors. All this education to the $\sigma\omega\phi\rho\sigma\sigma\dot{\nu}\nu\eta$ of the adventures of the Odyssey is condensed and ratified in the moment in which husband and wife, happy and full of desire, finally return to their original bed, in line Od. 23.296.

Sch. Od. 23.296 ἀσπάσιοι λέκτροιο] ἀσπαστῶς καὶ ἐπιθυμητικῶς ὑπεμνήσθησαν τοῦ πάλαι τῆς συνουσίας νόμου. 'Αριστοφάνης δὲ καὶ 'Αρίσταρχος πέρας τῆς 'Οδυσσείας τοῦτο ποιοῦνται - ἀσπάσιοι λέκτροιο παλαιοῦ θεσμὸν ἵκοντο] τοῦτο τέλος τῆς 'Οδυσσείας φησὶν 'Αρίσταρχος καὶ 'Αριστοφάνης.

The scholiastic claim that Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus had indicated the $\tau \hat{\epsilon} \lambda o \zeta$ or $\pi \hat{\epsilon} \rho \alpha \zeta$ of the *Odyssey* as residing in *Od*. 23.296 has given rise to a debate in modern criticism concerning the meaning to be attributed to this observation. Essentially, two basic possibilities can be outlined: either the two great Alexandrian grammarians intended to state that the authentic *Odyssey* actually ended at that line and that all following material was therefore spurious, or they intended to state that the $\tau \hat{\epsilon} \lambda o \zeta$ of the action in the Aristotelian sense was contained at this point, i.e. that *Od*. 23.296 represented the culminating point of the meaning, the final solution of the essential line of the whole poem.³³ I do not wish to investigate this question here: suffice it to say

³² There is a parallel in Dicaearchus fr. 92 W (from sch. *Od.* 1.332), concerning the first appearance of Penelope among the suitors in *Od.* 1.332ff.

³³ L. E. Rossi, "La fine alessandrina dell'Odissea e lo ζῆλος 'Ομηρικός di Apollonio Rodio," Rivista di Filologia e Istr. Class. 96 (1968) 151–63; Pfeiffer 1968, 116, 175–77, 231 n. 1; C. Gallavotti, "Tracce della Poetica di Aristotele negli scolii omerici,"

that there is good likelihood that Demetrius of Phalerum's focus on Od. 23.296 represented an early stand on the significance of this point. The actual verse itself does not seem to offer profound teaching as regards σωφροσύνη, but it acquires much greater depth of meaning if it is seen as the culminating point of the adventures of Odysseus and Penelope in the sense described above. It is impossible to assess exactly what Demetrius thought in philological terms, nor can it be ascertained whether he truly held an opinion as to whether some parts were authentic and others spurious (as happened to be the case with Il. 2.409). But his attention undeniably focused closely on that particular point of the Odyssey 23.296, and he can hardly have failed to be aware of the types of issues raised here concerning the meaning of the passage in relation to the meaning of the whole poem, regardless of any question of authenticity or otherwise of the subsequent parts.

Aristotle had given an exemplary synopsis of the poem's main plot in his *Poetics* (ch. 17, 1455 b 16–23), indicating that it reached its goal with the suitors' death and the rest consisted of episodes. Thus in Aristotle's conception the $\tau \in \lambda_{0}$ of the *Odyssey* was achieved with Odysseus' vengeance and his successful reappropriation of his home and his kingdom. I would suggest it is not unlikely that discussions on the main plot of the *Odyssey* and on the culminating point of a wellrounded narrative continued within peripatetic circles subsequently to Aristotle's statement, with Demetrius of Phalerum putting forward not exactly the same view, but a slightly different position as compared to that held by Aristotle: and such a position may have received attention in Alexandria and undergone further development among the grammarians. Perhaps we can add an observation in this regard, which will serve to underline this significant, though not drastic, difference of opinion. Aristotle's viewpoint rests on a reading of the *Odyssey* that was more linked to a heroic conception, so that the essential themes were thought to be Odysseus' experience of wars and political affairs, his participation in the expedition to Troy and his subsequent return, his prolonged absence from home and his lengthy wanderings, the danger to his

Maia 21 (1969) 208–14; H. Erbse, Beiträge zum Verständnis der Odyssee (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1972) 166–77; Richardson 1994, 21f.; also Montanari, Studi filol. 1995 (see note 15), partic. 21ff.

³⁴ Wehrli *ad loc*. comments: "Es handelt sich um den Vers, mit dem Aristophanes und Aristarchus die Odyssee schließen lassen; vielleicht stützt D. mit seiner moralischen Würdigung die gleiche Auffassung."

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household and kingdom caused by internal enemies, his revenge and triumphant return. The other view holds that the real culminating point and the real solution to the poem—and therefore in some sense the enshrinement of its true meaning—lies in the moment when husband and wife are reunited and in the reestablishment of marital bliss between the protagonist and his faithful wife. Such a view points to a reading oriented more towards feelings and human interest, more sensitive to intimacy and sentiment. This latter reading, which seems to reflect more profound observation of the psychology of the characters and more attention to the sentimental themes, is suggestive of a more "Menandrean" reading and is perhaps closer to Hellenistic tastes. Nevertheless, this is a difference of orientation which can already be traced in Aristotle's *Poetics*, in his considerations on the difference between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The development flowed within the Aristote-lian-peripatetic stream.

The third fragment of Demetrius of Phalerum's Homeric criticism is provided by the sch. Od. 3.267 (144 = fr. 191 [+146 = 192] W; FGrH 228 F 32a [+32b]). The comment concerns the famous passage in which Nestor, at Pylos, tells Telemachus about Clytemnestra, Aegisthus and the murder of Agamemnon, and more specifically the lines that tell how Agamemnon had entrusted his wife to a bard when he left for Troy. Aegisthus makes an attempt on Clytemnestra's virtue:

ή δ΄ ἦ τοι τὸ πρὶν μὲν ἀναίνετο ἔργον ἀεικές, 265 δῖα Κλυταιμνήστρη· φρεσὶ γὰρ κέχρητ' ἀγαθῆσι· πὰρ δ' ἄρ' ἔην καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀνήρ, ῷ πόλλ' ἐπέτελλεν 'Ατρείδης Τροίηνδε κιὼν εἴρυσθαι ἄκοιτιν. ἀλλ' ὅτε δή μιν μοῖρα θεῶν ἐπέδησε δαμῆναι, δὴ τότε τὸν μὲν ἀοιδὸν ἄγων ἐς νῆσον ἐρήμην 270 κάλλιπεν οἰωνοῖσιν ἕλωρ καὶ κύρμα γενέσθαι, τὴν δ' ἐθέλων ἐθέλουσαν ἀνήγαγεν ὅνδε δόμονδε.

Homer does not tell us the name of the bard of 1. 267 and it is only natural that speculation on this matter has been rife: a scholium reports that some believed him to have been called Chariades (or Charidemos according to one manuscript), others Demodokos, others Glaukos. This passage and Clytemnestra's bard was a subject also addressed by Dicaearchus (fr. 93 W),35 who says that "the ancients thought that the singer was also wise, as is clear from the one left with Clytemnestra."

³⁵ From Philodemus, On Music, p. 20, 32.21 Kemke.

Here the theme is "the ancients thought that the singers were wise," but no name is given. It seems that Aristoxenus (fr. 123 W) touched on the same theme, but I am not sure if the material immediately following the name of Aristoxenus in Strabo 1.2.3 is also to be assigned to Aristoxenus himself: here too no name of the bard is given. The excerptum of Demetrius of Phalerum in sch. Od. 3.267 is much richer and places the issue in a broader context.

This is the content of the scholium: Menelaus went to Delphi together with Odysseus to question the oracle concerning the forthcoming expedition against Troy. At that time Creon was ἀγωνοθέτης of the nineyearly Pythian games: the race was won by Demodokos Lacon, a disciple of Automedes of Mycenae, who was the first to write an epic poem on the battle of Amphytrion against the Teleboai and also wrote another on the contest between Cithaeron and Helicon, after whom the mountains of Boeotia were named. Automedes was therefore a disciple of Perimedes of Argos, who was the teacher of Automedes of Mycenae himself and also of Licymnios of Bouprasion, Sinis the Dorian, Pharidas the Lacon and Probolos the Spartan. So Menelaus dedicated to Athena Pronoia a necklace belonging to Helen. Demodokos, on the other hand, was given the task by Agamemnon, who had brought him to Mycenae, of guarding Clytemnestra. They held the bards in high esteem as masters of divine and ancient noble actions,³⁶ and they loved the lyre above all other instruments. Even Clytemnestra manifested the high regard she had for the bard, by ordering that he not be killed but banished instead. Timolaos said that Demodokos was the brother of Phemios, who followed Penelope to Ithaca to act as her guard: therefore, only because he was forced to did he sing for the suitors.

Thus the bard to whom Agamemnon had entrusted Clytemnestra was called Demodokos and he was Lacon. His presence is explained in the fragment by the fact that Menelaus is claimed to have met him at the poetry competition in Delphi and later Agamemnon is supposed to have taken him to Mycenae (the *excerptum* does not preserve the explanation of all the transitional steps). The high esteem in which bards were held at the time thus explains his role in this episode: one may note that the

³⁶ Cf. Dicaearchus' fragment 93 W and Strabo 1.2.3 (Aristoxenus fr. 123 W [Die Schule des Aristoteles. Texte und Kommentar, hrsg. v. F. Wehrli: 1. Aristoxenos, 2nd ed. (Basel and Stuttgart 1967)]), quoted above: cf. C. S. Floratos, Strabon über Literatur und Poseidonios (Athens, 1972) 12, 43–44.

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same role is attributed also to Phemios, acting as Penelope's guard, and recall Dicaearchus' fragment quoted above. Such was the solution Demetrius gave to the problem of identifying the bard mentioned by Homer in *Od.* 3.267, a solution which—to my knowledge—is unparalleled, whether this Demodokos is meant to be the same Demodokos of the Phaeacians or a different and homonymous figure.³⁷

By itself, this is just an erudite detail. However there is one aspect highlighted by this fragment that goes beyond this basic account and is worth emphasizing. Demetrius of Phalerum tells us that the bard Demodokos Lacon was a disciple of Automedes of Mycenae; now, the teacher of the latter was Perimedes of Argos, who was also the teacher of other singers, and these are listed. A teacher-pupil diadochè is therefore delineated, as follows: Perimedes ↔ Automedes ↔ Demodokos Lacon. Moreover, a number of other singers are mentioned by name and all of them, like Automedes, were disciples of Perimedes of Argos. At the end a Timolaos is quoted and in all probability the reference here is to Timolaos of Larisa,³⁸ a pupil of Anaximenes of Lampsacus and therefore more or less a contemporary (perhaps a little younger) of Demetrius of Phalerum. It is interesting to note that Timolaos contended that Demodokos was the brother of Phemios, the bard of the royal palace at Ithaca: we must therefore deduce from this that Timolaos agreed with the identification put forward by Demetrius for Clytemnestra's bard and added his own contribution in the form of this family relationship and the idea that Phemios too acted as a guard. I cannot say whether it was Demetrius himself who cited Timolaos or whether the second citation was added by the source of the scholiastic material, but in any

Demodokos of the Phaeacians, the supposition being that he met the heroes (Menelaus and Agamennon) at the Pythian games and then sang of their enterprises to the Phaeacians: cf. A. Gostoli, "La figura dell'aedo preomerico nella filologia peripatetica ed ellenistica: Demodoco tra mito e storia," Scrivere e recitare. Modelli di trasmissione del testo poetico nell'antichità e nel medioevo, a cura di G. Cerri (Roma: Ediz. dell'Ateneo, 1986) 103–26; as different persons are given in RE s.vv. In Pausanias 1.2.3 there is mention both of Demodokos at the court of Alcinoos and also of the poet left by Agamemnon with the latter's wife: this poet is not given any name and therefore Pausanias either does not know or does not accept the idea of Demetrius of Phalerum; the same can be said of Strabo 1.2.3, quoted above.

³⁸ Also cited by Eustathius at *Od.* 11.521 (1697.57); his Homeric activities are known: he had doubled the *Iliad* by adding a line to each line: cf. K. Ziegler, *Timolaos* 6, in *RE* VI A, 1 (1936) 1275–76.

case Timolaos of Larisa was plainly dealing with the same problem and adopting a similar approach.

A similar content is displayed by the citation from Tzetzes, *Prolegomena to Lycophron*, 4, 5ff. Scheer (**146** = fr. 192 W; FGrHist 228 F 32b), where it is said that Demetrius of Phalerum mentioned a few very ancient poets who had written songs to be performed with the accompaniment of musical instruments: the names are those of the *Kerkyraioi* (*sic*: probable confusions in the tradition of the material?) Automedes, Demodokos and Chaeris, the Ithacan Phemios and others.

I have not carried out in-depth research into all the names mentioned here, gathering together all the available evidence on these figures. I suspect that the evidence will turn out to be very scanty. However the aspect I wish to underline here is the general interest in very ancient poets, the bards who preceded Homer, an interest which usually starts out from the bards mentioned in the Homeric poems. This is a type of information found in the *Lives of Homer*, where there is often talk of poets prior to Homer: relations between such poets and Homer are frequently suggested, identifying them as his teachers or in some sense as part of a diadochè that included him, or even inserting them into his genealogical tree. The *Lives of Homer* were put together at a fairly late date, but there is a strong likelihood that the information contained therein derived from an erudition that may well go back to respectable antiquity. The inventions that developed around the bards of the Odyssey, around other figures of minstrels prior to Homer together with the genealogy and teachers of the poet are quite likely to have sprung up just as gratuitously as the other elements of a biographical tradition that had little to rely on in the way of personal declarations by the author about himself, but which nevertheless exploited as far as possible the information supplied by the poetic text. Indeed, peripatetic research followed this method with remarkable achievements. At a certain point this type of information evidently found suitable channels through which it took shape more concretely and a multifaceted biographical tradition began to form.

As early as in Herodotus, the claim was made that Homer and Hesiod were the most ancient known poets, while the poets who were said to have lived before them were actually of a later date. But it was Aristotle, in the *Poetics* (4.4, 1448 b 27ff.), who codified not only the established image of Homer as the author of the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey* and the *Margites*, but also the idea of Homer as the most ancient poet whose works have

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come down to us: prior to Homer there were many other poets but, it was said, their works are lost and for us poetry starts with Homer. This historical-literary conception became the standard view in the Alexandrian age, both as regards Homer's "authentic" works (*Iliad*, *Odyssey* and *Margites*) and also as regards his priority in time and the idea that before him there lived a multitude of poets whose works have not been preserved. Thus in one way or another, investigation touched on the problem of these poets of very ancient times, poets who lived before the "first" poet of Greek culture.

The effort to bring the pre-Homeric poetry into sharper focus led to the attempt to recover some supposed data by starting from the texts and adopting a number of different procedures, irrespective of the type of text and with little heed for how far-fetched the conjectures might be. In order to organize these data, scholars resorted to cultural models that were already well established in collective intellectual consciousness and operated very effectively: genealogy, an extremely ancient structure for the organization of mythical and historical time, and the diadochè, linkage through succession based on a cultural and intellectual bond rather than on family relationships. Genealogical or teacher-pupil connections, or both together, clearly provided a response to the need to establish structural links both within a pre-Homeric timescape shrouded in semi-legendary mists and also between this and the emergence of a figure such as Homer. Aristotle's codification must have given a decisive impulse in this direction, which in some sense was part of an embryonic need for history of literature that would later be developed along various lines through the research of the erudites in the Hellenistic age. Here too I do not wish to stray beyond the bounds of plausible speculation, but it seems to me that the information concerning Demetrius of Phalerum fits very well into this framework, that is to say, the interest in the pre-Homeric and in providing a structured picture of this obscure age. Indeed, I would argue that the significance of this fragment goes beyond the mere curiosity of an erudite hankering after an ingenious solution to a zétema.³⁸

³⁹ F. Montanari, "Il grammatico Tolomeo Pindarione, i poemi omerici e la scrittura," Ricerche di Filologia Classica. I (Pisa: Giardini, 1981) 97–114; Id., Introduzione a Omero. Con un'appendice su Esiodo, 2nd ed. (Firenze: Sansoni, 1992) 13–17; Blum 1977, 47–49; G. Arrighetti, Poeti, eruditi, biografi. Momenti della riflessione dei Greci sulla letteratura (Pisa: Giardini, 1987); Gostoli 1986.

I have no difficulty in acknowledging that in order to extract reasonably interesting results from these meagre remains it has been necessary to indulge in deductions and speculations, which do not constitute conclusive evidence and offer neither irrefutable data nor a large number of clues. Yet I would argue that overall this investigation has not been without foundation, above and beyond this or that specific point. If my arguments concerning Demetrius of Phalerum's criticism of Homer are granted some validity as a whole, then I think we can perceive, albeit dimly, some of the ways in which peripatetic research on works of literature (poetry) and the personalities of authors (poets) acted as a crucial impetus along the road that led to Alexandrian philology: we can perceive the elements of a link that remains of primary importance, namely the relationship between Aristotle and his school and Alexandria.³⁰

⁴⁰ L. E. Rossi, "Umanesimo e filologia (a proposito della Storia della filologia classica di Rudolf Pfeiffer)," Rivista di Filologia e Istr. Class. 104 (1976) 98–117; Blum 1977, 47–49, 99–107 and passim; F. Montanari, "L'erudizione, la filologia, la grammatica," in Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica, vol. I, t. II, 235ff. (Roma: Salerno Ed., 1993) partic. 259–64; G. Arrighetti 1987; Richardson 1994.



Gli Aesopica di Demetrio Falereo

Elisabetta Matelli

Lo status quaestionis

In questo breve studio mi propongo di considerare alcuni aspetti della tradizione delle favole esopiche in rapporto a Demetrio Falereo, uomo

* Quando nel testo e nelle note mi riferirò alla edizione di favole di B. E. Perry, Aesopica (Urbana 1953), segnalerò con "T ... Perry" le testimonianze su Esopo e con "F ... Perry" le favole.

Nel presente articolo mi riferirò spesso a fonti letterarie che contengono favole accompagnando la citazione ora con riferimenti del tipo: "Theogn. 602 West cfr. F 176 Perry," ora del tipo: "Aristoph. Vesp. 1401ss = F 423 Perry." Nel primo tipo di citazione intendo riferirmi all'edizione degli Aesopica del Perry, dove tuttavia il testo della favola è pubblicato sulla base di una fonte diversa (generalmente si tratta di collezioni favolistiche tradite per via diretta in manoscritti medioevali); nel secondo caso invece intendo evidenziare che il Perry cita la medesima fonte letteraria antica.

Questa distinzione è utile per riconoscere quali favole citate nei testi letterari di età arcaica, classica ed ellenistica confluiscono poi nelle successive collezioni tradite nei manoscritti di età medioevale e quali invece ci giungono solo attraverso i testi letterari antichi, senza essere entrate nelle collezioni a noi note.

Oltre alle voci A. Hausrath, "Fabel," RE VI (1909) 1704–36; O. Crusius, "Babrios," RE II (1896) 2655–67 e A. Hausrath, "Phaedrus," RE XIX (1937) 1475–1505, segnalo alcuni degli studi più recenti e importanti sulla tradizione delle favole esopiche (contenenti ulteriore bibliografia):

B. E. Perry, "Demetrius of Phalerum and the Aesopic Fables," *TAPA* 93 (1962) 287–346 e, dello stesso, *Babrius and Phaedrus* (London e Cambridge, Mass. 1965) Introduction.

politico e filosofo peripatetico, allievo di Aristotele e di Teofrasto¹ e autore di quella che si ritiene essere la prima collezione di favole esopiche, capostipite della successiva tradizione favolistica.

A questo fine è particolarmente utile tener presente sia i collegamenti di Demetrio con la scuola peripatetica (che aveva elaborato un proprio sistema di ricerca anche in ambito poetico-letterario e antiquario) sia il fatto che egli visse ed operò per circa una ventina di anni ad Alessandria (circa dal 300 al 283 a.C.),² in stretto contatto con la vita di corte e incaricato dal primo Tolomeo di costituire una biblioteca che raccogliesse i libri "da tutto il mondo":³ non è difficile immaginare che egli avesse stretti rapporti non solo con il monarca, ma anche con la cerchia dei poeti e filologi richiamati nella nuova capitale del regno di Egitto, almeno fino all'avvento al trono del Filadelfo.

Il primo e unico dato certo che abbiamo dell'attività di Demetrio sulle favole esopiche sono le parole di Diogene Laerzio nella Vita di

M. Nøjgaarg, La fable antique, Tome I, La fable grecque avant Phèdre (København 1964). In particolare le pagine 477–79 riguardano la raccolta di Demetrio.

F. Rodríguez Adrados, Historia de la fábula greco-latina, Volumen I, Introduccion y de los origenes a la edad Helenistica (Madrid 1979) in particolare le pagine 421-508.

A A.V V., La Fable, Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique, XXX (Vandoeuvres e Genéve 1984).

Der Aesop-Roman, ed. N. Holzberg (Tübingen 1992) [Classica Monacensia 6].

N. Holzberg, Die Antike Fabel. Eine Einführung (Darmstadt 1993).

Questo breve elenco non ha naturalmente l'ambizione di essere esaustivo. Altra bibliografia è citata nelle successive note dell'articolo.

¹ Nessuna fonte parla esplicitamente di Demetrio come allievo di Aristotele: sembra tuttavia indubitabile che egli abbia seguito le lezioni di Aristotele, data l'intensa attività d'insegnamento del grande maestro ad Atene fino al 323 a.C. Le fonti menzionano solo il nome di Teofrasto, a cui Demetrio fu particolarmente legato. Vedi E. Martini, s.v. "Demetrios 85," *RE* IV (1901), c. 2818, 60–67.

²E. A. Parsons, *The Alexandrian Library. Glory of the Hellenic World* (Amsterdam, London e New York 1952) 124–38 e 160.

³ Demetrius ap. Aristeae Ep. ad Philocratem = fr. **59** SOD. R. Pfeiffer, History of Classical Scholarship (Oxford 1969) 99–100, nega che le informazioni di questa fonte siano attendibili. In questo articolo cercherò di mostrare che, almeno per quanto riguarda il ruolo di Demetrio ad Alessandria, Aristea sembra presentare fatti confermati in modo indiretto anche da altre fonti. Se lo Pfeiffer tendeva a mettere in secondo piano il ruolo avuto dai Peripatetici ad Alessandria, invece la più recente storia della filologia ellenistica attribuisce loro una parte fondamentale: vedi R. Blum, Kallimachos und die Literaturverzeichnung bei den Griechen (Frankfurt am Main 1977), F. Montanari, L'erudizione, la filologia e la grammatica in Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica, I, 2, 259–64 e N. J. Richardson, Aristotle and Hellenistic Scholarship in La philologie grecque à l'époque hellénistique et romaine, Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique XL (Genéve 1994) 7–28, con la discussione alle pagine 29–38.

Demetrio (V 80 e 81 = 1 SOD) che mi sembra utile presentare nel loro contesto (segnalerò in grassetto i termini riguardanti le favole esopiche, mentre saranno sottolineate le parole significative del contesto):

Πλήθει δὲ βιβλίων καὶ ἀριθμῷ στίχων σχεδὸν ἄπαντας παρελήλακε τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν περιπατητικούς, εὐπαίδευτος ὢν καὶ πολύπειρος παρ' ὁντινοῦν· ὧν ἐστι τὰ μὲν ἱστορικά, τὰ δὲ πολιτικά, τὰ δὲ περὶ ποιητῶν, τὰ δὲ ῥητορικά, δημηγοριῶν τε καὶ πρεσβειῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ λόγων Αἰσωπείων συναγωγαὶ καὶ ἄλλα πλείω. ἔστι δὲ τὰ

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Περὶ τῆς 'Αθήνησι νομοθεσίας α' β' γ' δ' ε',
Περὶ τῶν 'Αθήνησι πολιτειῶν α' β',
Περί δημαγωγίας α' β',
Περὶ πολιτικῆς α' β',
Περὶ νόμων α΄,
Περὶ ἡητορικῆς α΄ β΄,
Στρατηγικών α' β',
Περὶ Ἰλιάδος α΄ β΄,
Περὶ 'Οδυσσείας α' β' γ' δ',
Πτολεμαΐος α',
Έρωτικὸς α΄,
Φαιδώνδας α΄,
Μαίδων α',
Κλέων α΄,
Σωκράτης α΄,
'Αρταξέρξης α΄,
'Ομηρικός α',
'Αριστείδης α΄,
'Αριστόμαχος α΄,
Προτρεπτικός α΄,
Ύπὲρ τῆς πολιτείας α΄,
Περί της δεκαετίας α΄,
Περὶ τῶν Ἰώνων α΄,
Πρεσβευτικός α΄,
Περὶ πίστεως α΄
Περὶ χάριτος α΄,
Περὶ τύχης α΄,
Περὶ μεγαλοψυχίας α΄,
Περὶ γάμου α΄,
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416 Demetrius of Phalerum

Περί τοῦ δοκοῦ α΄, Περὶ εἰρήνης α΄, [Περὶ νόμων α΄],⁴ Περὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων α΄, Περὶ καιροῦ α', Διονύσιος α΄, Χαλκιδικός α΄, 'Αθηναίων καταδρομή α΄, Περὶ 'Αντιφάνους α', Προοίμιον ίστορικὸν α΄, Έπιστολαὶ α΄, Έκκλησία ἔνορκος α΄, Περὶ γήρως α΄, Δίκαια α΄, Αἰσωπείων α΄, Χρειῶν α΄

Nelle fonti antiche non esiste nessun'altra citazione esplicita della collezione di favole esopiche di Demetrio.

Diogene Laerzio parla di συναγωγαί, ed è evidente dal contesto che il plurale è richiesto dalla pluralità delle raccolte, trattandosi di δημηγοριῶν τε καὶ πρεσβειῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ λόγων Αἰσωπείων συναγωγαί: sembra dunque che, su questa base, non debbano nascere interrogativi relativi al plurale, né che si debba sospettare un'opera in più libri o l'uso da parte di Demetrio di diverse recensioni della *Vita di Esopo*.

Prendendo spunto dalle parole di Fedro nel Prologo del IV Libro di Fabulae, dove il favolista latino afferma di presentare favole quas Aesopias, non Aesopi nomino, quia paucas ille ostendit, ego plures sero, usus vetusto genere sed rebus novis (11–13),8 potremmo osservare come nelle locuzioni λόγων Αἰσωπείων συναγωγαί e Αἰσωπείων α΄ di Diogene Laerzio (V 80 e 81) sia usato l'aggettivo Αἰσώπειος al posto

⁴H. S. Long, *Diogenis Laertii Vitae Philosophorum* (Oxford 1964) ad loc. propone in apparato di espungere questo titolo, in quanto ripetizione del quinto.

⁵ Nøjgaarg 1964, 467.

⁶ Nøjgaarg, Discussion in A A. V V. 1984, 190.

⁷ F. Ribezzo, Nuovi studi sulla origine e sulla propagazione delle favole indoelleniche comunemente dette esopiche (Napoli 1901) 93.

⁸ Cfr. Thesaurus Linguae Latinae s.v. "Aesopius," spiegato con "pertinens ad Aesopus 1." (c. 1085).

del genitivo Αἰσώπου. Ciò mi sembra significativo in rapporto a due fatti: 1) sia nell'elenco di opere di Aristotele, sia in quello di Teofrasto i contenuti delle συναγωγαί sono sempre definiti dai genitivi dei nomi propri degli autori dei testi raccolti, non da aggettivi derivati dai nomi propri (cfr. DL V 24, 43, 44, 47). 2) Tra le opere di Aristotele ci sono alcuni titoli con aggettivi derivati da nomi propri: oltre agli attributi Εὐδήμεια e Νικομάχεια per i libri di Ἡθικά, d'incerta interpretazione, ricordo Θεοδέκτεια del nr. 82, fr. 145 Gigon, Μενώνεια del nr. 110, fr. 353 Gigon e ᾿Αρχυτείου (nel titolo Περὶ τῆς ᾿Αρχυτείου φιλοσοφίας) del nr. 92 Gigon. A proposito di quest'ultimo titolo e di altri del genere, Gigon (1987, 405) esprime la propria difficoltà nell'interpretare tali forme aggettivali e si chiede se esse non rivelino che Aristotele trasse le dottrine di tali filosofi non solo da fonti scritte, ma anche da una tradizione orale.

Sebbene assente nei titoli delle opere di Demetrio, anche il termine συναγωγή usato da Diogene Laerzio è significativo. In età sofistica Ippia scrisse una Συναγωγή, ma purtroppo non sappiamo nulla della natura di quest'opera: solo Ateneo c'informa che in questo scritto il sofista parlò di una donna di Mileto, bella e sapiente, che ebbe 14 mariti (Hippias 86 B4 D-K).

Tra i titoli delle opere aristoteliche ci sono tre συναγωγά, nel senso di "raccolte": Τεχνῶν συναγωγὴ α΄ β΄, Τέχνης τῆς Θεοδέκτου συναγωγὴ α΄ (DL V 24) e Συναγωγῆς α΄ β΄ (DL V 25); anche il successore Teofrasto s'impegnò in raccolte di testi: Τῶν Διογένους συναγωγὴ α΄ (DL V 43), Περὶ τῶν Μητροδώρου συναγωγῆς α΄ (DL V 44), Προβλημάτων συναγωγῆς α΄ β΄ γ΄ δ΄ ε΄ (DL V 45), Λόγων συναγωγὴ α΄, Τῶν Ξενοκράτους συναγωγῆς α΄ (DL V 47), Προβλημάτων συναγωγῆς α΄ (DL V 48). Questi titoli rivelano che il Peripato tenne in considerazione il metodo di raccolta sistematica di testi per argomenti, per autori e per problemi. L'attività peripatetica in questo ambito è stata certamente più vasta di quello che pochi titoli e testi frammentari ci tramandano: lo stesso Aristotele nell' Etica Nicomachea (1181b6–12), ci dice che le raccolte di leggi e di costituzioni (τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν αἱ συναγωγαί) sono principal-

⁹ Vedi le parole di O. Gigon, Aristotelis Opera ex rec. I. Bekkeri (Editio altera, Berolini et Novi Eboraci 1987) 511.

¹⁰ E'indubbio che anche un'opera come la teofrastea Νόμων κατὰ στοιχεῖον κδ' (DL V 44), sebbene non si chiami συναγωγή, consistesse in una raccolta di testi, per altro presentati secondo un metodo classificatorio alfabetico.

mente utili a chi ha competenze e capacità di discernimento tra buono e cattivo in materia, ma che comunque possono giovare anche agli inesperti, perché facilitano loro la comprensione dell'argomento.

Tuttavia, lo stato frammentario di questi testi peripatetici e il fatto che solo da poco abbiamo a disposizione un'edizione integrale dei frammenti teofrastei, ¹¹ fanno sì che noi non possediamo ancora (per quanto è a mia conoscenza) una precisa nozione di che cosa effettivamente fossero queste συναγωγαί peripatetiche: ¹² su tale punto la questione rimane ancora aperta.

Al quadro delle opere di Demetrio vanno aggiunti Gli apoftegmi dei Sette Sapienti, assenti nell'elenco di Diogene Laerzio, ma presenti nel Florilegio di Stobeo, che riporta sotto al titolo Δημητρίου Φαληρέως τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν ἀποφθέγματα un certo numero di sentenze dei sapienti Cleobulo, Solone, Chilone, Talete, Pittaco, Biante, Periandro (Stob. III 1, 172 = Demetrius, fr. 87 SOD): 13 anche in questo caso siamo in presenza di una collezione di testi ed esiste un collegamento indiretto, ma significativo, tra questo tipo di raccolta e la tradizione delle favole esopiche. Esopo è infatti collegato ai sapienti nel Convivio dei Sette sapienti di Plutarco, dove il favolista partecipa al banchetto e ai discorsi dei saggi ospiti nella casa di Periandro a Corinto; è degno di nota il fatto che alla base di questo racconto sia riconoscibile una tradizione ellenistica e peripatetica. 14

Demetrio "raccolse" dunque λόγοι esopici seguendo il metodo di raccolta antiquaria tipica del Peripato: le favole da lui raccolte occupavano un libro.

Così entriamo nel vivo del nostro problema: Quali testi costituirono i λόγοι esopici di Demetrio? Quali furono le sue fonti? Sotto che forma

¹¹ Theophrastus of Eresus. Sources for his Life, Writings, Thought and Influence, ed. W. W. Fortenbaugh, P. M. Huby, R. W. Sharples (Greek and Latin) and Dimitri Gutas (Arabic), 2 vols. (Leiden, New York e Köln 1992). L'edizione verrà citata d'ora in poi con la sigla FHS&G.

¹² Vedi le parole di O. Gigon 1987, 389–90 (nr. 77); 399–400 (nr. 82), 405 (nr. 89).

¹³ Su quest'opera, vedi Martini, s.v. "Demetrios," 2836.

¹⁴ Per la fonte di Plutarco M. Paladini ("Influenza della tradizione dei Sette Savi nella vita di Solone di Plutarco," *Revue des Études Grecques* 69 [1956] 377–411) parla di Ermippo Callimacheo. Cfr. anche M. J. Luzzatto, "Plutarco, Socrate e l'Esopo di Delfi," *ILS* 13 (1988) 427–45 che riconosce, dietro a Plutarco, una fonte storica ben documentata sulle vicende del VI secolo.

Più avanti cercherò di mostrare che, per quanto riguarda la lista dei sette sapienti, Plutarco sembrerebbe seguire la tradizione di Demetrio, corretta solo per quanto riguarda il tiranno Periandro.

Demetrio presentò il materiale raccolto? Quali erano le dimensioni dell'opera? Quando e dove la scrisse? A quale fine egli raccolse le fiabe? La sua fu davvero la prima *raccolta* di fiabe esopiche, come molti studiosi riconoscono?¹⁵ Quale fu la fortuna di tale testo?

Per rispondere a ciascuna di queste domande, in mancanza d'altri dati, è innanzitutto opportuno considerare la tradizione delle favole in età arcaica e classica; volgerò poi lo sguardo all'età ellenistica, cercando le tracce dell'opera di Demetrio anche nelle raccolte di epoca imperiale.

Le fiabe nella tradizione letteraria greca dal VII al IV secolo

- §1. È necessario iniziare considerando che le origini delle favole greche sono molto antiche e certamente orientali.¹⁶
- -Si è soliti dire che nell'epica omerica non entrino le favole, sebbene numerose siano le similitudini con il mondo animale. Tuttavia è interessante che nel XIX libro dell'*Iliade*, l'episodio di Xanto, il cavallo di Achille che parla con il suo padrone (*Il.* 19.407–17), sia stato interpretato da successivi esegeti proprio in rapporto alla tradizione degli animali parlanti nelle favole narrate da altri poeti e da Esopo stesso.¹⁷

-In Esiodo e nei giambi di Archiloco, cioè nel VII secolo a.C., la favola s'inserisce nel testo poetico con una formula molto tenue e priva di determinazioni, del tipo : νῦν δ' αἶνον βασιλεῦσ' ἐρέω,... Hesiod., Op. 201, oppure: αἶνός τις ἀνθρώπων ὅδε, ὡς ... Arch. fr. 174 West (= 168 Tarditi), dove la parola stessa αἶνος può forse rivelare un legame con il motivo della esortazione morale propria di una letteratura sapienziale molto antica.¹⁸

¹⁶ I. Trencsényi-Waldapfel, "Eine Aesopische Fabel und ihre orientalischen Parallelen," Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae VII (1959) 317–27. Altra bibliografia alle note 18 e 33.

17 Vedi lo Schol. II. Τ 407c: πρῶτος δὲ "Ομηρος τοῦτο ἐποίησεν, Ἡσίοδος (sc. Op. 203–12) ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱέρακος, ᾿Αρχίλοχος (fr. 168 T = 174 W, cfr. p. 64 W) ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀετοῦ, καὶ Αἴσωπος ὕστερον κατεχρήσατο; cfr. Ael. N.A. XII.3. Anche Teone (Progymn. §3, Spengel, Rh.Gr. II, p. 73, 15–17) scrive che già Omero conosceva le fiabe.

¹⁸ Gli editori collegano questa fiaba ad altri frammenti archilochei e, più precisamente, al contesto dell'epodo contro Licambe (vedi frr. 166ss Tarditi e 171ss West).

¹⁵ Questa è una teoria corrente. Un utile resoconto del problema con alcuni riferimenti bibliografici essenziali in Holzberg 1992, 24–29. Tuttavia un passo degli *Uccelli* di Aristofane (Aristoph. *Aves* 471–72) con le parole οὐδ' Αἴσωπον πεπάτηκας sembrerebbe alludere ad un testo esopico scritto: v. M. L. West, "The Ascription of Fables to Aesop in Archaic and Classical Greece," in A A.V V. 1984, 121–22 e Nøjgaarg 1964, 474.

Mi sembra che il filone di un'antica sapienza legata alla favola sia presente anche nelle similitudini con il mondo animale dei giambi di Semonide di Amorgo; ¹⁹ purtroppo la frammentarietà del testo citato dall' Etym. Genuinum, dall' Etym. Magnum e da uno scolio omerico non ci permette di conoscere la formula con cui il poeta introduceva la favola dello scarabeo e dell'aquila, che sarà poi raccontata anche da Esopo. ²⁰ Nell'elegia di Solone, inoltre, per quanto si può ricostruire da un singolo frammento, il riferimento al tema di una favola (quella del vecchio leone e della volpe) s'inserisce nel testo in modo naturale, come

Cfr. le voci αἶνος e αἰνέω in LSJ, connesse etimologicamente (cfr. P. Chantraine). In particolare segnalo il valore esortativo del verbo in Od. 16.403. Teone riconosce il valore di esortazione contenuto nella parola αἶνος; dopo aver presentato le parole λόγος e μῦθος per indicare la fiaba, così spiega αἶνος: "αἶνος δὲ ὂτι καὶ παραίνεσίν τινα περιέχει (Progymn. §3, Spengel, Rh.Gr. II, p. 73, 31–32).

Che una parte del patrimonio favolistico greco abbia radici antichissime, che in alcuni casi affondano nella tradizione sapienziale assiro-babilonese e sumerica, è stato ampiamente dimostrato e discusso nei suoi vari aspetti da F. Nau, Histoire et Sagesse d'Ahikar l'Assyrien. Traduction des versions syriaques avec les principales différences des versions arabes arménienne, grecque, néo-syriaque, slave et roumaine (Paris 1909); E. Ebeling, Die babylonische Fabel und ihre Bedeutung für die Literaturgeschichte (Leipzig 1927); Perry 1953, 5–9; J. J. A. van Dijk, La sagesse suméro-accadienne (Leiden 1953); K. Meuli, "Herkunft und Wesen der Fabel," Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde 50 (1954) 65–88 [= Gesammelte Schriften II (Basel 1975) 731–56]; A. La Penna, "Letteratura esopica e letteratura assiro-babilonese," Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione classica 92 (1964) 24–39. R. S. Falkowitz, "Discrimination and Condensation of Sacred Categories: the Fable in Early Mesopotamian Literature," in A A.V V. 1984, 1–24 (Discussione alle pagine 25–32); M. J. Luzzatto, "Grecia e Vicino Oriente: tracce della "storia di Ahiqar" nella cultura greca tra VI e V secolo a.C.," Quaderni di Storia 18, nr. 36 (1992) 1–84. V. infra anche la bibliografia citata alla nota 33.

¹⁹ V. i Frr. 3 Pellizer-Tedeschi (d'ora in poi P-T) = 11 West (abbreviato W.), 7 P-T = 7 W, 12 P-T = 5 W, 13 P-T = 8 W, 14 P-T = 9 W, 16 P-T = 12 W, 18 P-T = 14 W, 22 P-T = 18W. Il Fr. 3 P-T = 11W potrebbe forse alludere alla fiaba dell'oca dalle uova d'oro (F 87 Perry).

20 Sem. Amorg. < > τὸ δ' ἥμιν ἑρπετὸν παρέπτατο / τὸ ζωίων κάκιστον ἕκτηται βίον (Fr. 17 P-T = 13 W.). A. Pellizer-I. Tedeschi, Semonides, Testimonia et Fragmenta (Roma 1990) 104: "e volò vicino a noi quell'insetto / che tra tutti gli animali mena il peggior modo di vita." Si tratterebbe qui dello "sfogo di Zeus che, molto contrariato per il tiro mancino giocatogli dallo scarabeo, lo ricopre d'insulti. L'insetto lo aveva infatti indotto a rompere le uova dell'aquila—che il padre degli dei aveva deciso di proteggere tenendole accanto a sé—facendovi rotolare vicino le sue graveolenti palline di sterco" (ibid. 181). Lo Schol. Il. Σ 407b riferisce il verso di Semonide alla favola dello scarabeo e dell'aquila (cfr. F 3 Perry), a cui allude in più passi anche il comico Aristofane che la attribuisce ad Esopo (Aristoph. Pax 27, Lys. 695, Vesp. 1446ss, v. infra nel testo). Nei frammenti di Semonide non ci sono tuttavia termini specifici indicanti la favola o il raccontar favole: generico, cioè equivalente a "parlare" è il significato di μειλίχως μυθεόμενος del Fr. 7.18 ("parlandole in modo dolce e carezzevole," Pellizer-Tedeschi 1990, 97).

una semplice, ma eloquente allusione nel contesto di un discorso contro la tirannide.²¹ Nel II stasimo dell'*Agamemnone* di Eschilo il canto del coro su Elena entrata a Ilio come sposa di Paride e causa di terribili lutti (inizialmente era stata accolta a Ilio come una creatura meravigliosa, ma poi fu causa di orribili stragi e distruzioni) è interrotto dal racconto di un leoncino strappato ancor piccolo alla madre e allevato in una casa di uomini: finché piccolo esso sembrava facilmente adattarsi alla casa e al padrone, verso il quale si comportava con l'affetto di un piccolo bimbo; ma appena cresciuto, il leone rivelò la sua vera natura compiendo terribili stragi proprio dentro alla famiglia che l'aveva allevato come un figlio (Aesch. Ag. 717–36 Fraenkel). Nessuna formula introduce la similitudine tra questa favola e la storia di Elena; tuttavia la giustapposizione dei due racconti permette facilmente di estendere alle vicende di Elena e Paride "la morale" del racconto del leoncino (cfr. Pl. Gorg. 483e-484a): come l'uomo, addomesticando un giovane leone, era andato contro una legge naturale, che alle fine era però tornata a imporre drammaticamente la propria realtà causando una strage, così Paride, portando Elena a Ilio contro leggi superiori (cfr. Ag. 699–708) Fraenkel), aveva condotto nella sua città una donna meravigliosa che si tramutò in tragica rovina.

§2. Dal V secolo i riferimenti letterari alla figura di un favolista si fanno più precisi; appare la figura di Esopo e la narrazione delle favole è talora legata ad alcuni episodi della sua vita. Le *Storie* di Erodoto (II 134–35) rappresentano per noi il primo testo con un riferimento al personaggio di Esopo, con la rapida allusione ad alcuni fatti della sua vita: egli ci è presentato come λογοποιός, vissuto al tempo del re Amasi e schiavo di un certo Iadmone di Samo, assieme alla trace Rodopi, la quale venne poi riscattata divenendo l'amante di Carasso di Mitilene, fratello della poetessa Saffo. Erodoto narra anche che, in seguito alla sua morte violenta a Delfi, i Delfici, per consiglio dell'oracolo, offrirono un risarcimento in denaro per il suo sangue, che venne accettato da Iadmone, omonimo figlio dell'ex padrone di Esopo.²²

²¹ Solon, fr. 11 West, cfr. F 142 Perry.

²² In questo racconto si allude agli ultimi episodi della leggenda di Esopo, nota dalla tarda *Vita* (Vita G e W §127ss Perry 1953, 74 e 105): Esopo venuto in rotta con Apollo e inimicatosi con i Delfici, con un inganno venne da costoro falsamente accusato del furto di una coppa d'oro del tesoro di Apollo e condannato a morte; ma in seguito a questo omicidio i Delfici furono colpiti da un flagello, da cui Apollo consigliò di liberarsi pagando il prezzo del sangue di Esopo. V. S. Jedrkiewicz, *Sapere e paradosso nell'antichità: Esopo e la favola* (Roma 1989) 83–107.

Un esplicito riferimento a questo medesimo episodio della vita di Esopo è contenuto in alcuni versi delle Vespe di Aristofane: il racconto del commediografo ci dà i particolari dell'inganno perpetrato contro Esopo dai Delfici, che poi lo accusarono del furto del vaso di Apollo, episodio che Erodoto non aveva narrato. Aristofane ci informa che davanti all'ingiusta accusa Esopo rispose con una favola, di cui nelle Vespe riporta solo le parole iniziali "uno scarabeo una volta ..." (Aristoph. Vesp. 1446-49 = T 20; cfr. F 3 Perry).²³ Se ad Aristofane è sufficiente menzionare solo l'inizio, vuol dire che gli spettatori della commedia conoscevano certamente la fiaba ed erano dunque in grado di cogliere immediatamente l'allusione di Esopo ad una terribile vendetta, simile a quella dello scarabeo contro l'aquila che aveva deposto le proprie uova nel grembo di Zeus, credendole al sicuro.²⁴ Egli si riferisce a questa favola anche nella Pace (127–34 = T 69 Perry; cfr. F 3 Perry) dove Trigeo rammenta brevemente alla figlia il racconto esopico dello scarabeo che, unico tra gli alati ad essere volato in alto sino a raggiungere gli dei, volendosi vendicare dell'aquila, aveva fatto rotolare le sue uova giù dal grembo di Zeus;²⁵ Aristofane accenna a questa fiaba anche nella Lisistrata (695). La fiaba era antica, dato che già Semonide di Amorgo l'aveva menzionata (v. supra e nota 20).

Il commediografo narra dunque il racconto dello scarabeo in stretta connessione con un episodio della vita di Esopo²⁶ e fa lo stesso quando ci racconta le parole rivolte da Esopo, di sera e di ritorno da un banchetto, a una cagna che gli abbaiava contro (*Vesp.* 1401ss = F 423 Perry).

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<sup>23</sup> Aristoph. Vesp. 1446-49 (ed. Coulon):
               Αἴσωπον οἱ Δελφοί ποτ'-
      Фι.
      Вδ.
               ολίγον μοι μέλει.
               φιάλην έπητιῶντο κλέψαι τοῦ θεοῦ.
      Фι.
               ό δ' ἔλεξεν αὐτοῖς ὡς ὁ κάνθαρός ποτε-
      Bδ.
               οἴμ', ὡς ἀπολῶ σ' αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι κανθάροις.
<sup>24</sup> Jedrkiewicz 1989, 86–87.
<sup>25</sup> Aristoph. Pax 127–34 (ed. Coulon):
                Τίς δ' ἡπίνοιά σούστὶν ὥστε κάνθαρον
      Πα.
               ζεύξαντ' έλαύνειν είς θεούς, ὧ παππία;
                Έν τοῖσιν Αἰσώπου λόγοις ἐξηυρέθη
      Tρ.
                μόνος πετηνών είς θεούς ἀφιγμένος.
      Πα.
                "Απιστον εἶπας μῦθον, ὧ πάτερ πάτερ,
                ὅπως κάκοσμον ζῷον ἦλθεν εἰς θεούς.
                Ήλθεν κατ' ἔχθραν αἰετοῦ πάλαι ποτέ,
      Tρ.
               φ' ἐκκυλίνδων κάντιτιμωρούμενος.
<sup>26</sup> Vedi i capitoli 134–39 della Vita Aesopi (Vita G e Vita W in Perry 1953, 76 e
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106). Interessanti le osservazioni di Jedrkiewicz 1989, 86.

Anche Aristotele nella *Retorica* ci presenta una fiaba che Esopo avrebbe raccontato a Samo in difesa di un demagogo, volendo mostrare agli abitanti della città che non era male tenersi un capo così (*Rhet*. II 1393b22-33 = T 41 e F 427 Perry); questo episodio di Esopo viene citato di seguito ad uno analogo nel quale Stesicoro aveva raccontato una fiaba per mettere in guardia i cittadini di Imera contro il tiranno Falaride (Arist. *Rhet*. 1393b10-22 = F 269a Perry e cfr. F 269 Perry).

Nei *Meteorologica* (II.3 356b10–17) la leggenda di Cariddi che risucchia il mare per due volte facendo emergere prima i monti, poi le isole e che minaccia alla fine di prosciugarlo è il racconto che Esopo rivolge a un barcaiolo con cui era arrabbiato per spaventarlo: Aristotele commenta che in quella situazione era giustificato che Esopo usasse una favola del genere, ma che essa non poteva certo essere usata da chi cercasse la verità.

Solo la tradizione indiretta ci informa che Aristotele parlò della fama acquisita da Esopo come favolista nella Σαμίων Πολιτεία (Schol. in Aristoph. Aves, 471 White = fr. 591.1 Gigon) e che nella Δελφῶν Πολιτεία scrisse anch'egli dell'ira divina per l'omicidio di Esopo contro i Delfici, consigliati quindi dall'oracolo di pagare il prezzo del suo sangue innocente (testo entrato nelle raccolte paremiografiche, cfr. Arist. Politeia nr. 37, frr. 494.1–3 Gigon).

- §3. Con il V secolo cominciano dunque i riferimenti letterari alla figura del favolista Esopo e la narrazione di alcune sue fiabe sembra scaturire proprio da episodi della sua vita: ma a questo proposito desidero sottolineare che le fonti anteriori al III secolo, riferendosi all'origine di Esopo o ad episodi della sua vita, legano concordemente il favolista alla città di Samo (Her. II 134; Arist. Rhet. 1393b22–33 e fr. 591.1 Gigon) e a rapporti conflittuali con i Delfi (Aristoph. Vesp. 1446–49; Arist., Δελφῶν Πολιτεία, fr. 494, 1–3 cfr. 494.4 Gigon).
- §4. I testi anteriori agli Aesopica di Demetrio citano talora favole che chiamano "esopiche"; altre volte le qualificano con aggettivi che si riferiscono a particolari regioni, come per indicarne una precisa origine geografica: Eschilo, in un frammento dei Mirmidoni (Aesch. F 139 Radt) si riferisce ad una fiaba (= F 276a Perry; cfr. F 276 Perry) con le parole ὧδ΄ ἐστὶ μύθων τῶν Λιβυστικῶν κλέος, dove l'aggettivo equivale a "Libico" (v. Hausrath 1909, 1719–20). Anche Aristotele parla di fiabe della Libia nella Retorica, citandole al fianco di quelle esopiche (... λόγοι, οἷον οἱ Αἰσώπειοι καὶ Λιβυκοί, Rhet. II 1393a30–31 = T 94

Perry). ²⁷ Aristofane nelle *Vespe* accosta le divertenti storielle esopiche a quelle *sibaritiche*, precisando che s'imparavano nei simposi (*Vesp.* 1259–60). Nella medesima commedia ci presenta una divertente (e assurda²⁸) storiella, raccontata da un Sibarita, che ha come protagonista una donna di Sibari (*Vesp.* 1427–40). ²⁹ Il testo di un papiro ci riferisce che il poeta Timocreonte (V sec. a.C.) avrebbe usato *una fiaba di Cipro* contro Temistocle ("Κύπριος αἶνος," Timocreon 730, 4 Page) e secondo un'altra testimonianza nelle sue poesie egli avrebbe raccontato *fiabe della Caria* ("Καρικὸς αἶνος," Timocreon 734.8 Page). ³⁰

Questi testi mostrano che già dal V secolo a.C., al fianco delle favole chiamate "esopiche," correvano anche fiabe libiche, sibaritiche e forse anche di Cipro e della Caria.³¹ Tale sembra essere stato il materiale favolistico circolante prima della raccolta di Demetrio.

§5. Che tipo di tradizione aveva la fiaba, prima degli Aesopica di Demetrio?

-Le testimonianze parlano a favore di una tradizione prevalentemente orale: Socrate in prigione aveva messo in versi le prime favole di Esopo che gli venivano in mente e conosceva a memoria (διὰ ταῦτα δὴ οῦς προχείρους εἶχον μύθους καὶ ἠπιστάμην τοὺς Αἰσώπου, τούτους ἐποίησα οἷς πρώτοις ἐνέτυχον, Pl. *Phaedo* 61b). Già è stato presentato il passo in cui Aristofane parla esplicitamente di fiabe esopiche e sibaritiche che s'imparavano nei simposi (Αἰσωπικὸν γέλοιον ἢ Συβαριτικόν, ὧν ἔμαθες ἐν τῷ συμποσίφ, *Vesp.* 1259–60).

-Tuttavia sempre Aristofane, in un verso di discussa interpretazione,

²⁷ Nell'*Economico* ps. aristotelico (I 6.3 1345a2-5) si citano due apoftegmi, pronunciati da un uomo della Persia e da uno della Libia: in quest'ultimo potrebbe esserci l'allusione a un detto esopico (T 91 Perry).

²⁸ La sciocchezza del racconto sarebbe una caratteristica delle fiabe sibaritiche, e ciò avrebbe causato la successiva teorizzazione che contrapponeva le fiabe di animali (esopiche) a quelle di uomini (sibaritiche), cfr. Theon, *Progymn*. §3, Spengel, *Rh.Gr.* III, p. 73, 1–13 e Nicolaus Soph., *Progymn*. §1, Spengel, *Rh.Gr.* III, p. 452, 6–13: solo gli uomini infatti possono far ridere per le loro sciocchezze. Vedi su questo Hausrath 1909, 1720–21, con bibliografia.

²⁹ Nel testo di Aristofane questi versi sono contigui a quelli relativi ad Esopo che narra ai Delfici la storia dello scarabeo (*Vesp.* 1445–48).

³⁰ Sul valore da attribuire a queste testimonianze, v. Hausrath 1909, 1721–22.

³¹ Oltre ai passi sopra segnalati alla nota 28 indico, con riferimento alle testimonianze del Perry 1953, altri testi (per lo più di retori) in cui si distinguono le diverse tipologie delle fiabe, in base alla loro origine: *Schol. ad Aristoph. Aves 471* (= T 5 Perry), Hermog. *Progymn* 1 (= T 101 Perry), Aphth. *Progymn*. 1 (= T 102 Perry), Quint. *I.O.* V 11.19-21 (= T 98 Perry), Diogen., *Praef. CPG* I 180 (= T 89 Perry), Chamail. apud Hesych. s.v. Λιβυκοὶ λόγοι (= T 90 Perry), Isidorus, *Etymol*. I 40 (= T 64 Perry).

sembrerebbe alludere anche alla circolazione di un testo scritto di fiabe esopiche (Aves 471: οὐδ' Αἴσωπον πεπάτηκας ος ἔφασκε λέγων ...). M. West è tra gli ultimi, autorevoli, sostenitori che in questo passo ci sia il riferimento a un'opera scritta e ritiene che, al fianco di una tradizione orale, già nel V sec. a.C. avesse preso forma letteraria la leggenda dello schiavo barbaro e narratore di favole, Esopo, e che all'interno di questa cornice biografica si inserissero le fiabe che il personaggio aveva raccontato in diversi momenti della sua vita. Un siffatto genere letterario va certamente collegato alla storia d'origine babilonese di Akicharos (il cui testo è venuto alla luce in un papiro aramaico del V secolo a.C. a Elefantina in Egitto) e su cui Teofrasto scrisse un libro ('Ακίχαρος α', DL V 50). 33

-Erodoto offre a mio avviso un significativo esempio di come una fiaba potesse inserirsi anche in testi di storiografia: narrando l'ambasceria degli Ioni e degli Eoli che, prima renitenti alla resa, solo dopo la sottomissione della Lidia da parte di Ciro chiedono di potersi arrendere alle stesse condizioni, lo storico riferisce che il re Persiano rispose loro con la fiaba dei pesci danzanti, per significare che, non essendosi arresi subito, le condizioni della resa non sarebbero più state favorevoli (*Her.* I.141 = F 11a Perry; cfr. F 11 Perry).

Certamente le fiabe della Lidia o di Sibari o della Caria avevano una forte tradizione orale: ma penso che alcuni testi storiografici, etnografici e le storie locali includessero qua e là delle fiabe tipiche di questa o di quella regione oppure favole raccontate dai protagonisti di alcune delle vicende narrate;³⁴ questa ipotetica via di trasmissione

³² West 1984, 105–28. Una precedente discussione del problema in Nøjgaarg 1964, 467–79, che offre un quadro degli studi sull'argomento e, da parte sua, pur ammettendo l'esistenza di una collezione scritta di favole esopiche, respinge l'idea che in età prealessandrina circolasse una *Vita* di Esopo a cornice di alcune favole.

33 Bibliografia essenziale su Akicharos: G. Wissowa, s.v. "Akicharos," RE I (1894) 1168, 21–39; Nau 1909; Ed. Meyer, Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine (Leipzig 1912); A. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C. (Oxford 1923); A. Hausrath, Achiqar und Aesop. Das Verhältnis der orientalischen zur griechischen Fabeldichtung (Heidelberg 1918); Perry 1953, 4–11; A. La Penna, Il romanzo di Esopo, cit., 264–313; M. L.West, "Near Eastern Material in Hellenistic and Roman Literature," HSCP 73 (1969) 113–34; Id. 1984, in particolare 111ss; Jedrkiewicz 1989, 127–35. Luzzatto 1992. H. Wilsdorf, "Der Weise Achikaros bei Demokrit und Theophrast," Philologus 135 (1991) 191–206. N. Oettinger, "Achikars Weisheitssprüche im Licht älterer Fabeldichtung," in Holzberg 1992, 3–22; R. Kussl, "Achikar, Tinuphis und Aesop," in Holzberg 1992, 23–30. Altra bibliografia in Holzberg 1992, 176–78.

³⁴ Assai significative mi sembrano essere le parole del retore Teone (*Progymn*. §3, Spengel *Rh. Gr.* II, p. 73, 14-21). Il testo è citato nella nota 67.

scritta attraverso le storie locali può forse rendere ragione sia delle fiabe come λόγοι in prosa, sia del fatto che ci sono fiabe caratterizzate come λόγοι Λιβυκοί, Συβαριτικοί, Λυδικοί, ecc.³⁵

Peraltro il retore Teone ricorda l'uso della fiaba non solo da parte di Erodoto, ma anche degli storici Filisto e Teopompo: μύθου δὲ ὁποῖός ἐστι παρὰ Ἡροδότῳ τοῦ αὐλητοῦ, ⟨ἐν τῆ πρώτη⟩, καὶ παρὰ Φιλίστῳ τοῦ ἵππου [καὶ τῶν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ ἐν τῆ πρώτη καὶ] ἐν τῆ δευτέρᾳ (Theon, *Progymn*. §2 Spengel, *Rh. Gr.* II, p. 66, 9–11; Philistus, *F.Gr.Hist*. 556 F 6)³⁶ καὶ ἐν τῆ εἰκοστῆ Θεοπόμπου τῶν Φιλιππικῶν ὁ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς ὕβρεως ὃν ὁ Φίλιππος διεξέρχεται πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας τῶν Χαλκιδέων (Theon, *Progymn*. §2 Spengel, *Rh. Gr.* II, p. 66, 12–14; Theopompus, *F.Gr.Hist.* 115 F 127).

In sintesi, mi sembra che sia gli episodi della vita di Esopo contenenti le favole da lui raccontate in certe situazioni, sia le fiabe caratterizzate dai nomi di precise regioni geografiche possano rendere lecita l'ipotesi che alcuni testi storiografici della Ionia ne siano stati i primi canali di divulgazione scritta.

-Le fiabe potevano entrare anche in un discorso oratorio. Si sa infatti che in un discorso politico agli Ateniesi l'oratore Demade, cercando di richiamare l'attenzione distratta degli ascoltatori, inserì ad un certo punto una fiaba che definì esopica: dovendo Demetra, una rondine e un'anguilla guadare un fiume, la seconda volò, la terza s'immerse. Qui Demade interruppe il racconto e tacque il seguito: gli Atenesi chiesero allora che cosa avesse fatto Demetra. L'oratore avrebbe risposto: "si arrabbiò con voi che, trascurando i problemi della città, anteponete le favole di Esopo" (Demad. fr. XXII De Falco = F 63 Perry). Una tradizione attribuisce la narrazione di una favola anche a Demostene come espediente simile a quello di Demade per attirare l'attenzione degli ascoltatori (Ps. Plut. *Vitae X. or.* 848 A).³⁷ Cfr. inoltre Aristoph. *Vesp.* 563–66 e Lycurg. *in Leocr.* 95.

³⁵ T 85, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93 Perry.

³⁶ Riproduco il testo di F. Jacoby. Vedi le note critiche in *F.GR.Hist*. III b Kommentar 556 F 6.

³⁷ Per il valore di queste testimonianze v. le parole di M. É. Chambry, *Ésope. Fables* (Paris 1927; 4th ed. 1985) XXX n. 1; V. De Falco, *Demade l'oratore. Testimonianze e Frammenti* (Napoli 1954), a commento del Fr. XXII. Id. 14ss., sottolinea che furono soprattutto i Peripatetici e in particolare Teofrasto a valorizzare l'oratoria di Demade.

Per la favola di Demostene vedi anche Suda, s.v. ὄνου σκιά nr. 400, III p. 543 Adler = Aristoteles fr. 457 Gigon. Vedi Demostene, Sulla Pace §25: è possibile che la tradizione del suo racconto della favola agli Ateniesi sia nata successivamente, come amplificazione delle sue parole in questa orazione.

-Amarono le favole anche filosofi come Socrate e Platone;³⁸ di Aristotele si è sopra parlato e poco più avanti considereremo l'interesse peripatetico per la favola.

-Le fiabe sono presenti, spesso con la veste di una semplice allusione, anche in poesia: negli esametri di Esiodo, nei giambi del *Margite*, di Archiloco, d'Ipponatte e di Semonide di Amorgo, nell'elegia di Solone e di Teognide, nella lirica di Alcmane, di Ibico, di Stesicoro e di Timocreonte, in anonimi *carmina simposialia*, nella commedia dorica di Dinoloco e in quella di Apollofane, di Archippo e di Aristofane, nelle tragedie di Aristia, di Eschilo e di Sofocle³⁹ (e l'elenco potrebbe certamente essere molto più ricco). La *Batrachomyomachia*, il piccolo poema in esametri su una battaglia tra rane e topi, prende spunto da una favola per offrire una parodia del mondo epico. Tuttavia la sua datazione è un problema ancora aperto; ci sono stati sostenitori del V sec. a.C., ma si propende ormai a vederne un prodotto della poetica alessandrina:⁴⁰ con i suoi 303 versi è troppo vasta per essere una fiaba, ma nasce certamente dall'elaborazione di un tema favolistico antico che entrerà anche nella *Vita di Esopo* (§133).⁴¹

§6. Quali sono le tipologie delle fiabe citate nei testi letterari prima della poesia alessandrina?

La risposta a questa domanda è qui necessariamente sintetica: la fiaba

³⁸ Plato, *Alc.* I 123A, cfr. F 142 Perry; *Phd.* 60B-C, cfr. F 445 Perry e *Phdr.* 259B-C = F 470 Perry, Xenoph. *Mem.* II 7.13–14 = F 356a Perry.

³⁹ I passi di alcuni di questi autori sono altrove citati nell'articolo; per non ripetermi mi limito qui ad aggiungere le citazioni a cui non ho fatto riferimento altrove (nel riferimento all'ed. Perry, ho segnato con F- la mancanza di un riscontro): -Alc. fr. 76 Page (segnalo che il contesto di Ael. N.A. XII.3 non è citato in modo completo dal Page ed il passo risulta così oscuro). -Apolloph., F 9 PCG Kassel-Austin II, p. 522 (= F 458 Perry). -Archil., fr. 201 West = 196 Tarditi. -Archipp., FF 35-36 PCG Kassel-Austin II, pp. 549-50. -Aristias 9 F 8 TrGF Snell I, p. 87 (= F 458 Perry). -Aristoph., fr. 192 Kock, CAF I, 437. -Dinol., F 8 Kaibel p. 150 (= F 458 Perry). -Hippon., fr. 92.10ss. West. -"Hom." Margites F 5 West (cfr. Plut. An seni gerenda resp. 12.790 c). -Ibyc. fr. 342 Page (= F 458 Perry). -Soph., Aiax 1142-49, F 331 Radt IV, p. 314 e F 362 Radt IV, p. 326 (= F-, - e 458 Perry); -Skolion 892 Page (cfr. F 196 Perry). -Theogn. 602 West (cfr. F 176 Perry). -Timocr. fr. 729 (cfr. F 17 Perry) e fr. 734 Page (= F 425 Perry).

⁴⁰ Per un utile status quaestionis sulla Batrachomyomachia vedi le pagine introduttive di [Omero] La battaglia delle rane e dei topi, a cura di Massimo Fusillo. Prefazione di Franco Montanari (Milano 1988) 39–43.

⁴¹ Sulle fiabe umoristiche di animali in lotta nell'antico Egitto vedi, in riferimento alla *Batrachomyomachia*, le parole di E.Brunner-Traut, *Altägyptische Märchen* (Köln 1983) (6. verbesserte Auflage) 266. Cfr. anche Nøjgaarg 1964, 319. Da ultimo S.Merkle, "Die Fabel von Frosch und Maus," in Holzberg 1992, 110–27.

appare sempre come un testo molto breve, che s'inserisce nel contesto letterario per fornire una similitudine, un esempio o una eziologia.

La fiaba ha una vivace tradizione orale e può entrare sia in testi di prosa che poetici, in metri diversi. Le fiabe non sono limitate a un genere letterario specifico.

Quanto ai contenuti, ci sono fiabe di vita animale, dove gli animali parlano e agiscono come uomini (e.g. Hes. Op. 202–12 = F 4a e cfr. F 4 Perry; Arch. Epod. 171–81 West, cfr. F 1 Perry; Frr.185–87 West, cfr. F 81 Perry; Aesch. Myrmid. F 139 Radt = F 276A e cfr. 276 Perry; Aristoph. Aves 471–75 = F 447 Perry). Fiabe che hanno come protagonisti l'uomo e l'animale (e.g. Her. I 141 = F 11a e cfr. 11 Perry; Stesich. ap. Arist. Rhet. II 20 1393b8ss. = F 269a e cfr. 269 Perry; Aristoph. Vesp. 1401–5 = F 423 Perry). Fiabe in cui l'animale è in rapporto con Zeus o con un'altra divinità (e.g. Sem. Am. fr. 13 West, Aristoph. Vesp. 1446ss; Pax 127–34, Lys. 695, cfr. F 3 Perry; Demad. fr. XXII De Falco = F 63 Perry). Fiabe di metamorfosi (e.g. Arist. H.A. 609a8–10; 616b5–7; 619a17–20 = F 422 Perry). Fiabe di esseri umani in dialogo con oggetti (e.g. Aristoph. Vesp. 1427–32 = F 428 Perry). Ci sono infine anche le "fiabe mitologiche" (e.g. Plat. Phaedo 60B–C = F 445 Perry; Arist. Meteor. 356b10–17, cfr. F 8 Perry).

Eliano, N.A. VI 51 = F 458 Perry, narra la fiaba mitologica di Prometeo e c'informa che essa era entrata nella lirica di Ibico, nelle commedie di Dinocolo e di Apollofane, nelle tragedie di Sofocle e di Aristia: ci rivela così in modo esemplare come una medesima fiaba, adattata ai diversi contesti, potesse essere utilizzata in testi letterari di genere differente. Le fiabe sono dei testi "aperti" anche quando, parallelamente alla tradizione orale, vengono messe per iscritto.

L'interesse peripatetico per la fiaba

Prima di arrivare alla favola nella poesia alessandrina, dove è possibile che si riflettano alcuni dei materiali raccolti da Demetrio, può essere utile considerare le notizie che rivelano un interesse peripatetico per la fiaba precedente e contemporaneo al Falereo.

a) I titoli delle opere. Tra i lavori di Aristotele troviamo un Περὶ μυθολογουμένων ζώων α΄, "Un libro sugli animali favolosi" (DL V 25 = nr. 106 Gigon, senza testi). Il medesimo titolo compare anche tra le opere di Stratone di Lampsaco (DL V 59 = fr. 93 Wehrli, senza testi) il

quale, quasi sicuramente introdotto nella corte di Alessandria da Demetrio,⁴² fu precettore di Tolomeo Filadelfo (DL V 58). Sebbene nelle edizioni dei frammenti di Aristotele e Stratone questi titoli non siano seguiti da testi che ne illustrino i contenuti, alcuni passi aristotelici dell'*Historia Animalium*, in cui si descrivono i μυθολογούμενα ζῷα, mi fanno cre-dere che nelle opere così intitolate si potesse parlare non solo di animali fantastici come per lo più si ritiene, ma anche di animali nella fiaba (Arist. *H.A.* 578b25–28 a proposito della lunga vita dei cervi; 609a8–10 sulle lotte tra animali, tipico tema favolistico; 619a17–20 a proposito degli uomini rei contro il dovere di ospitalità e tramutati in aquile).

Teofrasto fu autore del già citato libro 'Ακίχαρος α' (DL V 50 = 727 nr. 13 FHS&G), di cui non sono giunti frammenti, ma che certamente presentava una versione greca della storia del saggio assiro, di cui abbiamo un prezioso testimone aramaico nel papiro di Elefantina del V sec. a.C., e che ha strette analogie con la *Vita* e con alcune fiabe e sentenze di Esopo (vedi nota 33). Il Diels, *Vorsokr.*¹², 68 B 299 Demokritos, ritenne che l'opera 'Ακίχαρος di Teofrasto fosse la fonte del racconto (fittizio) tramandato da Clemente Alessandrino sulla traduzione in greco da parte di Democrito di una stele con la storia e le massime del saggio assiro Akicharos. Che invece Democrito conoscesse i testi di Akicharos è stato di recente sostenuto da M. J. Luzzatto e da H. Wilsdorf.⁴³ Qui non è forse inutile ricordare che i frammenti dossografici di Teofrasto testimoniano un forte interesse per Democrito.

Tra le opere teofrastee vorrei ricordare un altro titolo, ambiguo e pertanto di non sicura interpretazione: Λόγων συναγωγὴ α' (DL V 47), citata nell'edizione FHS&G nell'elenco degli scritti di logica con la traduzione "A collection of arguments" (68 nr. 37 FHS&G). Il termine λόγος è ambiguo, tanto che Teone matematico elenca almeno 15 significati di λόγος secondo i Peripatetici, tra cui anche ὁ Λιβυκὸς καὶ ὁ μῦθος καὶ ὁ αἶνος λόγος λέγεται.⁴⁴

Nella Retorica Aristotele dà istruzioni sull'uso della favola in oratoria.⁴⁵

⁴² Martini 1901, 2821, 45–51.

⁴³ v. *supra* e n. 33.

⁴⁴ Theon, De utilitate math. 72.24–73.11 Hiller.

⁴⁵ Arist. Rhet. 1393 a 23ss. V. infra l'esposizione del passo.

Nel Peripato esisteva dunque un interesse per la favola già prima di Demetrio, come mostrano i titoli delle opere sopra citate, sebbene non si tratti di vere e proprie "raccolte."

Tuttavia, almeno nel caso dell'Akicharos di Teofrasto, venivano quasi sicuramente presentate in greco le favole e le massime di un personaggio dentro una cornice biografica (struttura che vedremo riflessa nel più tardo βίος di Esopo).

b) La teoria peripatetica sulla fiaba. Può essere utile rileggere alcuni passi della Retorica di Aristotele dedicati alla favola come forma di argomentazione.

Egli introduce il tema a proposito delle π i σ τεις, dicendo che sono due i tipi di argomentazione: gli esempi e gli entimemi; aggiunge che si distinguono anche due generi di esempio: l'esempio tratto da fatti realmente accaduti e quello inventato, come le parabole e i racconti esopici o libici, (*Rhet.* 1393a28–31). Seguono alcune parole sull'esempio di fatti realmente accaduti, poi la definizione di parabola o similitudine, infine l'illustrazione di due favole, una attribuita a Stesicoro e la seconda a Esopo (*Rhet.* 1393a31–b33, v. supra).

Interessanti le parole del filosofo quando afferma che le favole si adattano ai λόγοι δημηγορικοί e hanno questo vantaggio: mentre non è facile avere sempre a disposizione esempi tratti da avvenimenti realmente accaduti, è invece agevole fare esempi con le fiabe, perché, se si riescono a trovare le analogie, possono essere inventate sul momento. Per il discorso deliberativo, invece, è preferibile l'esempio di fatti storici (*Rhet.* 1394a1–18).

Parlando in seguito delle $\gamma\nu\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha\iota$, dirà che è sconveniente usare massime o raccontare favole se non si ha esperienza e un'età anziana (*Rhet*. 1395a1-7).

In sintesi, il passo aristotelico ci presenta la fiaba nel contesto di un discorso oratorio, mostrandoci il carattere aperto della sua tradizione: le fiabe, come le similitudini, possono essere inventate e adattate al discorso oratorio. Interessante inoltre l'osservazione che conviene raccontare favole in età anziana e il collegamento della fiaba al filone di cultura sapienziale delle γνῶμαι.

Alla scuola peripatetica risale la prima trattazione sistematica di fisiognomica, l'arte d'interpretare le strette relazioni tra i caratteri fisici e il comportamento degli individui: Aristotele nel *De gen. anim.* 769b18ss = Φυσιογνωμονικὸν α', nr. 109, fr. 352 Gigon testimonia la pratica di un fisiognomo che "riconduceva tutte le espressioni a quelle

di due o tre animali," riconoscendo dunque delle analogie tra alcuni comportamenti umani e animali. Nel trattato Φυσιογνωμικά, attribuito ad Aristotele, ma più sicuramente solo di scuola peripatetica, si affronta criticamente la difficoltà d'interpretare in modo corretto le analogie tra i comportamenti degli animali e degli uomini che hanno caratteri fisici simili. 6 Credo che tale interesse fisiognomico del Peripato possa essere fruttuosamente collegato anche con quello di Demetrio per le favole: i fili conduttori di molti racconti sembrano originati proprio da un'acuta osservazione delle sottili analogie di comportamento tra certi uomini e certi animali e il forte messaggio etico delle favole è dato proprio dall'implicita similitudine tra questi due mondi, l'animale e l'umano. Buoni esempi di questo genere di fiaba fisiognomica si trovano in Semonide d'Amorgo (in particolare nel famoso catalogo dei dieci tipi di donne conservatoci da Stobeo = fr. 7 West) e in Callimaco (*lamb*. II, fiaba attribuita a Esopo).

Demetrio ad Alessandria

Questi sembrerebbero essere dunque i precedenti della fiaba, prima degli Aesopica di Demetrio. Per cercare di ricostruire qualche tratto della sua opera perduta mi sembra necessario ora considerare la sua presenza ad Alessandria d'Egitto e vorrei farlo in relazione a due eventi: da una parte la grandiosa opera di collezione di libri per la Biblioteca del nuovo regno affidata proprio a Demetrio, dall'altra i richiami alla fiaba che s'incontrano nel grande poeta alessandrino Callimaco, teorico del genere λεπτόν.

La Biblioteca di Alessandria

La testimonianza di Aristea (*Ep. ad Philocratem* I 9–11 = **59** SOD) pur presentando una lettura propagandistica giudaica degli avvenimenti e pur contenendo un riferimento anacronistico al regno di Tolomeo Filadelfo anziché a quello di Tolomeo Soter,⁴⁷ offre dei dati confermati in altre fonti sul ruolo avuto da Demetrio nella costituzione della nuova

 ⁴⁶ Per il testo vedi Scriptores Physiognomonici Graeci et Latini, vol. I, rec. R. Foester, 4–91 (Lipsiae 1893). Vedi J. Schmidt s.v. "Physiognomik," RE XX¹ (1941) 1067–68. Utili le pagine introduttive di Pseudo Aristotele. Fisiognomica. Anonimo Latino, Il trattato di fisiognomica. Introduzione, traduzione e note di Giampiera Raina, Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli, 5–51 (alle pagine 52–54 bibliografia) (Milano 1993).
 ⁴⁷ A. Pelletier, Lettre d'Aristée a Philocrate (Paris 1962) Intr. 47–58.

Biblioteca e che sembrano dunque avere un fondamento storico: Aristea ci racconta che Demetrio ricevette denari dal re Tolomeo per raccogliere nel modo più completo possibile tutti i libri del mondo e che egli raggiunse questo scopo comprando libri e facendo fare trascrizioni.⁴⁸ Un passo di Strabone ci riferisce che Aristotele fu il primo ad aver fatto collezioni di testi (πρῶτος, ὧν ἴσμεν, συναγαγὼν βιβλία) e ad aver insegnato ai re egiziani come costituire una biblioteca (καὶ διδάξας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτω βασιλέας βιβλιοθήκης σύνταξιν):49 naturalmente le parole sull'insegnamento di Aristotele devono essere intese, per evidenti ragioni cronologiche, come un riferimento non all'attività del grande maestro, ma piuttosto della sua scuola ed è facile per noi trovare qui una indiretta conferma della notizia sull'incarico dato da Tolomeo a Demetrio. Il numero dei libri raccolti nella Biblioteca era molto alto. Aristea ci presenta il dialogo tra Demetrio e il Filadelfo preliminare alla decisione di far arrivare ad Alessandria anche testi giudaici, con un vivace scambio di battute: Tolomeo avrebbe domandato a Demetrio quante decine di migliaia di volumi erano state raccolte. La risposta sarebbe stata "più di 20" (cioè 200.000 volumi) con l'aggiunta: "Mi darò da fare per raggiungere il numero di 500.000." Tra i libri da acquistare ci sarebbero stati appunto anche le Leggi giudaiche. Anche se la notizia della traduzione del testo ebraico non ha fondamento storico, il numero dei volumi raccolti non è probabilmente molto lontano dalla realtà: lo Scholion Plautinum parla di 490.000 rotoli nella Biblioteca di Alessandria e 42.800 nella Biblioteca del Serapeo al tempo di Callimaco (in *Prolegomena de comoedia*, p. 48,6–49,2 Koster).⁵⁰ Varie testimonianze provano la presenza nella Biblioteca di volumi anche in lingua non greca, tra cui testi orientali.51

Demetrio fu dunque uno dei protagonisti principali di questo straordinario afflusso di libri ad Alessandria. Cicerone lo menziona tra

⁴⁸ Aristea, *Ep. ad Philocratem* I 9–11 = **59** SOD: κατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως βιβλιοθήκης Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐχρηματίσθη πολλὰ διάφορα πρὸς τὸ συναγαγεῖν, εἰ δυνατόν, ἄπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην βιβλία, καὶ ποιούμενος ἀγορασμοὺς καὶ μεταγραφὰς ἐπὶ τέλος ἤγαγεν, ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πρόθεσιν.

⁴⁹ Strab. XIII. 1.54.

⁵⁰ R. Blum, Kallimachos und die Literaturverzeichnung bei den Griechen (Frankfurt am Main 1977) 140–48 e passim. Vedi anche L. Canfora, La biblioteca e il Museo, in A A.V V., Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica, Vol. I, tomo II (Roma 1993) 11–29.

⁵¹ Parsons 1952, 175–203.

gli uomini politici che esemplarmente occuparono il tempo dell'esilio a scrivere *multa praeclara* (Cic. *De Fin.* V 19.53 = **36** SOD): né si può dubitare che un uomo come il Falereo abbia avuto un interesse anche personale per i libri raccolti, che potrebbero essergli serviti come fonti per alcune opere composte in Egitto.⁵²

Data l'intensa attività politica ateniese di Demetrio prima dell'esilio egiziano, considerando la natura sapienziale delle favole (Aristotele ne aveva riservato l'uso all'età matura dell'uomo!) e il carattere compilatorio del libro definito da Diogene Laerzio λόγων Αἰσωπείων συναγωγή, la composizione di questa raccolta andrà datata verosimilmente negli anni "egiziani." Ad Alessandria Demetrio aveva a disposizione un patrimonio di fonti molto ampio, in gran parte orientale, con tradizioni favolistiche diverse da quelle circolanti in Atene.

Callimaco

A questo punto consideriamo brevemente la favola nella poesia di Callimaco, il rappresentante del genere $\lambda \epsilon \pi \tau \acute{o}v$, attivo presso la corte tolemaica circa una generazione dopo il Falereo: nei Giambi, nell'Hecale e anche negli Aitia sono contenuti numerosi riferimenti alle favole, grazie alle quali il poeta dà un tocco leggero ad alcune sue metafore, soprattutto a quelle talora usate per rendere icastica, con gioco ironico, la propria polemica letteraria. Mi propongo di trattare in altra sede e con un'analisi più completa questi passi callimachei: qui richiamerò solo i punti più significativi.

1) Callimaco usa favole di tipo mitologico (*lamb*. II), favole di vita animale (*Aitia* fr. 1, 31–34 e fr. 177; *Hecale* fr. 260 Pfeiffer) e, almeno in un caso, egli rende protagonisti di una piccola contesa due piante,

⁵² Martini 1901, 2821, 45–66.

⁵³ Perry (1962, 308) ritiene che Demetrio avesse composto gli *Aesopica* negli anni di governo ateniese, basandosi sulla menzione di una statua di Lisippo da parte di Agazia (*AP* 16.332): in questa scultura era raffigurato Esopo di fronte ai sette sapienti e, secondo il Perry, l'opera fu suggerita allo scultore dall'esistenza della raccolta di favole esopiche del Falereo. La tesi di un collegamento tra la scultura menzionata da Agazia e gli *Aesopica* di Demetrio è suggestiva e cronologicamente possibile, ma West 1969, 116 nota 6 riconosce che gli argomenti della datazione del Perry non sono molto forti. Non ha molto fondamento nemmeno la datazione proposta da L. Hermann ("Quelques Fables de Demetrios de Phalère," *L'Antiquité classique* 19 [1950] 5–11), che attribuisce l'opera di Demetrio agli anni 283–280 a.C., per il fatto che le favole sarebbero servite al Falereo come mezzo satirico per esprimere la sua opposizione contro Tolomeo Filadelfo, che lo aveva allontanato dalla corte di Alessandria.

l'olivo e l'alloro (*lamb*. IV). Come abbiamo visto sopra, i primi due temi erano presenti già nei testi letterari di età arcaica e classica, mentre prima di Callimaco non abbiamo attestazioni greche per il terzo tipo.

2) Anche Callimaco allude talora a episodi della vita di Esopo:

Nel I *Giambo* (fr. 191 Pfeiffer) Ipponatte fa visita a Callimaco dall'Ade e gli narra la storia della coppa d'oro di Baticle (passata fra le mani dei sette sapienti e poi ritornata al primo, che la dedicò ad Apollo); nei versi 26–27 una folla di uomini è paragonata a sciami di vespe e di mosche e ai "Delfici di ritorno dal sacrificio." Quest'ultima similitudine è chiarita dallo *Scolio Fiorentino* del giambo (PSI 1094 = T 26 Perry), che ricorda un episodio della vita di Esopo: egli beffeggiò i Delfici che, durante i sacrifici, si affollavano armati di coltelli per portarsi a casa porzioni della vittima. Lo scolio riferisce che i Delfici mal sopportarono questo rimprovero di Esopo e che lo presero a sassate, uccidendolo.

Si tratta di una versione della sua morte differente da quella in Aristofane, che allude alla sua morte a Delfi in seguito alla falsa accusa di aver rubato la coppa d'oro del Tempio di Apollo (Vesp. 1446 ss = T 20 Perry e Schol. Vesp. 1446 = T 21 Perry; Pax 129 ss = T 69 Perry).

Nel Giambo II Callimaco racconta la fiaba, di carattere mitologico, dell'età dell'oro: in questa epoca uomini e animali parlavano la stessa lingua, comprendendosi. Ma gli animali vollero qualcosa di più, liberarsi dalla vecchiaia, e accusarono Zeus di non essere stato giusto. Come punizione, la loro voce si differenziò e questa molteplicità di linguaggio venne data anche agli uomini: per questo, dice Callimaco, Eudemo parla la lingua di un cane, Filtone di un asino e i tragici parlano come i pesci. Il poeta conclude così: "queste cose le ha raccontate Esopo di Sardi, che i Delfici mal accolsero mentre raccontava una fiaba." Questa ultima nota si collega evidentemente al tragico episodio della vita del favolista esposto nello Scolio Fiorentino del Giambo I.

Callimaco conferma dunque che la narrazione delle favole di Esopo era collegata a precisi episodi della sua vita e ripete la notizia che egli ebbe rapporti ostili con i Delfici.

Per quel che si sa egli è il primo a dire in questo giambo che Esopo era di Sardi (metropoli della Lidia).

Degno di nota è il carattere fisiognomico delle similitudini tra il linguaggio di Eudemo, di Filtone e dei tragici con i mezzi espressivi di altrettanti animali.

3) Nel Giambo IV Callimaco presenta anche una favola che attribuisce agli antichi Lidi: "Gli antichi Lidi raccontano che sul monte

Tmolo ci fu una lite tra un alloro e un olivo. ..." (fr. 194, 6–8 Pfeiffer). Segue la narrazione diretta della contesa verbale tra i due, con l'intervento finale di un rovo e un giuramento in nome del fiume lidio Pattolo.

Abbiamo qui il primo riferimento greco a "favole della Lidia": nella precedente tradizione avevamo visto attestate fiabe della Libia (Eschilo, Aristotele), di Sibari (Aristofane), della Caria e di Cipro (Timocreonte). Si ricordi che nel Giambo II anche Esopo, chiamato Σαρδιηνός, è legato alla Lidia.⁵⁴

Inoltre, viene presentata per la prima volta una favola che ha come protagoniste le piante: già il Diels nel 1910 mostrò l'analogia della contesa tra l'alloro e l'olivo di Callimaco con la contesa tra il rovo e il melograno nel testo di Akicharos del papiro di Elefantina (Col. XI.165–66), riconoscendo in questo tipo di litigio tra alberi un più antico modello assiro-babilonese, ⁵⁵ come fu confermato da studi successivi, come quelli dell'Ebeling, ⁵⁶ del La Penna, ⁵⁷ del West. ⁵⁸ Fedro e Babrio, riassumendo nei loro Prologhi i temi delle favole esopiche, ricordano anche i racconti con alberi parlanti, ⁵⁹ di cui noi non abbiamo nessuna attestazione nella letteratura greca prima di questa. Tali coincidenze potrebbero indurre a sospettare che nella raccolta di fiabe esopiche di Demetrio non dovessero mancare una o più fiabe del tipo vegetale.

Ad Alessandria Callimaco attingeva di prima mano ad un ricchissimo repertorio di fonti scritte. Tuttavia, dato che la tradizione delle fiabe era stata fino ad allora prevalentemente orale, riflettendosi solo qua e là, in modo sporadico, in testi letterari di molteplice e diversa natura, è lecito domandarci se l'opera di Demetrio, certamente disponibile ad Alessandria, potesse essere ignorata dal grande poeta-erudito.

Inducono a credere il contrario alcuni indizi presenti anzitutto nei Prologhi delle due importanti raccolte di favole di età imperiale, quella

⁵⁴ In questo Giambo colpisce il riferimento a puntuali elementi fisici della regione Lidia, come il monte Tmolo e il fiume Pattolo. Vedi, all'interno dell'erodoteo *Logos lidio*, i riferimenti al monte Tmolo in Her. I 84.3 e 93.1 e al fiume Pattolo in Her. V 101.2. Sul fiume Pattolo vedi anche Callim. fr. 814 Pfeiffer (*incerti auctoris*).

⁵⁵ H. Diels, "Orientalische Fabeln in griechischem Gewande," *Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik* 4 (1910) 993–1002.

⁵⁶ Ebeling 1927, 3ss.

⁵⁷ La Penna 1964, 24–39.

⁵⁸ West 1969, 118–19.

⁵⁹ Phaedr. I Prol. 2-4; Babr. Prol. 9.

latina di Fedro e quella greca di Babrio. Entrambi i favolisti si richiamano all'autorità di Esopo, le cui fiabe hanno preso come modello, in gran parte riscrivendole, aumentandole di numero e soprattutto mettendole in versi. Essi, che certamente si basarono su una raccolta di favole che, se non era la stessa di Demetrio doveva perlomeno dipenderne, ci presentano nei Prologhi alcuni dei temi più tipici delle fiabe esopiche: così Fedro, nel Prologo del primo libro, dopo aver esordito con "Aesopus auctor quam materiam repperit, / hanc ego polivi versibus senariis" (1–2), conclude "calumniari si quis autem voluerit, / quod arbores loquantur, non tantum ferae / fictis iocari nos meminerit fabulis" (4–6).

Nel Prologo di Babrio leggiamo la medesima osservazione, espressa con maggiori dettagli: Babrio esordisce dicendo che gli uomini del suo tempo stanno vivendo nell'età del ferro, ma che precedentemente c'era una età dell'argento e prima ancora dell'oro (1–3): "Nell'età dell'oro anche tutti gli altri animali avevano una voce articolata e conoscevano le parole con cui noi parliamo l'un l'altro e nel mezzo delle foreste c'erano piazze del mercato. Il pino e le foglie dell'alloro chiacchieravano, chiacchierava—o Branco—il pesce con la nave e con il navigatore e i passeri conversavano con il contadino facendosi capire. Tutto cresceva dal terreno senza chiederlo e c'era amicizia tra uomini e dei. Tu potrai imparare e conoscere che così andavano le cose dal saggio e vecchio Esopo che narrò fiabe nella libera musa:⁶⁰ adornando di fiori ognuna di queste in base al mio ricordo, porrò per te un favo stillante di miele, addolcendo le dure membra dei pungenti giambi " (4–19).⁶¹

⁶⁰ Cioè in prosa. vedi la nota al testo greco della nota 61.

⁶¹ Babrii Mythiambi Aesopei, edd. M. J. Luzzatto et A. La Penna (Leipzig 1986) Prol. I:

Γενεὴ δικαίων ἦν τὸ πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων, /ὦ Βράγχε τέκνον, ἣν καλοῦσι χρυσείην, /μεθ' ἣν γενέσθαι φασὶν ἀργυρῆν ἄλλην, /τρίτη δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐγένεθ' ἤ ⟨γε⟩ χαλκείη / μεμπτῆς σιδηρῆς ῥίζα †καὶ γένος χεῖρον†. / ἐπὶ τῆς δὲ χρυσῆς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ζῷων / φωνὴν ἔναρθρον εἶχε καὶ λόγους ἤδει¹· / ἀγοραὶ δὲ τούτων ἦσαν ἐν μέσαις ὕλαις. / ἐλάλει δὲ πέτρη καὶ τὰ φύλλα τῆς πεύκης,² / ἐλάλει δὲ κἰχθύς, Βράγχε, νηὶ καὶ ναύτῃ, / στρουθοὶ δὲ συνετὰ πρὸς γεωργὸν ὡμίλουν. / ἐφύετ' ἐκ γῆς πάντα μηδὲν αἰτούσης, / θνητῶν δ' ὑπῆρχε καὶ θεῶν ἑταιρείη. / Μάθοις ἂν οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχοντα καὶ γνοίης / ἐκ τοῦ σοφοῦ †ἡμῶν† γέροντος Αἰσώπου³ / μύθους φράσαντος τῆς⁴ ἐλευθέρης⁵ μούσης. /ὧν νῦν ἕκαστον ἀνθίσας ἐμῆ μνήμῃ / μελισταγές σοι νοῦ τὸ κηρίον θήσω, / πικρῶν ἰάμβων σκληρὰ κῶλα θηλ⟨ύνας⟩.

^{1.} οἵους π(ε)ρ ἡμεῖς μυθέομεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους: questo verso è riportato solo dal Π4 (Papyrus Bouriant 1 = P. Sorbonne inv. 826, IV sec.) ed è omesso nel testo dell'ed. Luzzatto-La Penna: in apparato leggiamo *La Penna dubitanter*. Il verso è invece accolto nell'edizione del Perry (T 95) e anch'io l'ho compreso nella mia traduzione.

Sia Fedro che Babrio affermano dunque che protagonisti delle fiabe di Esopo sono non solo animali, ma anche piante parlanti. In particolare Babrio sembra avvicinarsi molto alla fiaba mitologica che Callimaco, nel Giambo II, attribuisce a Esopo. Ma i temi presentati da Babrio non coincidono esattamente con quelli di Callimaco, cosicché piuttosto di ritenere che il favolista abbia come sua fonte esopica unicamente i Giambi II e IV del poeta di Cirene, sembrerebbe ragionevole supporre che ci sia stata per entrambi una fonte comune, quasi sicuramente in prosa, di cui forse facevano parte, tra le tante fiabe di Esopo, anche quelle di carattere mitologico e quelle con animali e piante parlanti. 62

Se così fosse, non parrebbe ingiustificato identificare tale fonte con la raccolta di Demetrio, nota forse non direttamente, ma attraverso antologie di età ellenistica (la tesi che le raccolte di Babrio e di Fedro dipendano, più o meno direttamente, dal libro di Demetrio, solleva la questione cruciale dell'entità di tale debito e soprattutto il problema se nel libro Aiomeiov α' le favole fossero già presentate nella forma tipicamente ellenistica dell'antologia, avulse da un contesto narrativo; su questo punto tornerò tra breve).

Un ulteriore collegamento tra Demetrio e Callimaco mi sembra suggerito da due altre coincidenze. 1) Pur non essendo fissi i nomi dei sette saggi ed esistendo al riguardo una tradizione molto varia e fluida,⁶³ i nomi di Talete, Biante, Periandro, Solone, Chilone, Pittaco e Cleobulo sono presenti sia nella lista di Demetrio (Stob. III 1,172 = Demetrius fr.

^{2.} Luzzatto e La Penna hanno accolto la lezione di A (Cod. Athous Mus. Brit. Addit. 22087, sec. X). Nella traduzione ho preferito la lezione di Π4 πεύκη καὶ τὰ φύλλα τῆς δάφνης, accolta nelle edizioni Immisch e Perry.

^{3.} Luzzatto-La Penna ammettono, in apparato, la possibilità di leggere la l.15: ἐκ τοῦ σοφοῦ τε καὶ γέροντος e nella mia traduzione ho seguito tale testo. Per le emendazioni di altri studiosi, vedi App. alla linea 15 nella sudetta edizione.

^{4.} Non ho riportato nel testo l'emendazione di Luzzatto-La Penna che stampano οὐκ al posto di τῆς, correggendo così la lezione dei codd. D'altra parte lo stesso La Penna, in apparato, segnala che tolerari posse lectionem traditam, vedi App. alla linea 16.

^{5.} ἐλευθέρης è emendazione del Crusius, accolta da successivi editori, quali il Perry e Luzzatto-La Penna. Il cod. A ha ἐλευθέρας, emendato dallo Schneidewin in παλαιτέρας. Il Crusius, Babrii Fabulae Aesopeae (Lipsiae 1897) 10 in App. alla linea 16 giustamente interpreta ἐλευθέρα in riferimento alla oratione libera, i.e. soluta.

⁶² Holzberg 1993, 57. Forse più direttamente condizionata dai *Giambi* di Callimaco potrebbe essere la scelta metrica di Babrio, che era consapevole di volgere in metro dei testi originariamente scritti in prosa.

⁶³ Importanti Barkowski, s.v. "Sieben Weisen," *RE* Zweite Reihe II [1923], coll. 2242-64 e B. Snell, *Leben und Meinungen der Sieben Weisen* (München 1938).

87 SOD), sia in Callimaco, nella leggenda della coppa di Baticle del Giambo I (il testo del papiro è corrotto, ma i nomi dei sapienti sono dati dalla Dieg. VI, vedi fr. 191 Pfeiffer), sia in Plutarco nel La E di Delfi e nel Convivio dei Sette Sapienti (nella prima opera Periandro è annoverato tra i sapienti, anche se criticato per la sua tirannide, nella seconda è sostituito da Anacarsi, evidentemente a causa dell'ostilità dell'autore per tale istituto politico). Lo stesso Plutarco, sempre nel Convivio dei Sette Sapienti, presenta Esopo partecipe al banchetto dei saggi come inviato del re Creso di Lidia e da parte sua anche Callimaco chiama Esopo "Lidico."

Conclusioni sulla tradizione della fiaba e la raccolta di Demetrio

La tradizione della favola anteriormente all'Aἰσωπείων α' di Demetrio sembra essere stata vivace e varia. Le fiabe furono un elemento importante nella vita sia privata che civile e certamente dovevano essere, già dall'età antica, uno strumento di educazione del bambino e del giovane.⁶⁵ Uno stesso racconto poteva avere molteplici

⁶⁴ Nel *Convivio* di Plutarco i sette saggi sono rappresentati da Solone, Biante, Talete, Anacarsi, Cleobulo, Pittaco e Chilone.

I nomi dei sette sapienti non sono fissi: la tradizione al riguardo è assai varia. Ermippo Callimacheo ne ricordava 17 possibili (DL I 42).

Colpisce dunque che la lista di Plutarco coincida con quella di Demetrio, con l'eccezione del tiranno Periandro, sostituito dallo scita Anacarsi. Nel Convivio Periandro è solo ospite del banchetto ed è tenuto distinto dai sapienti. In un dialogo dell'opera Talete dice di Periandro che "è colpito dalla tirannia come da un male ereditario" e che è solo la frequentazione dei saggi a tenerlo sulla retta via (§2 147C). Suppongo che dietro alla lista dei sette sapienti del Convivio ci possa essere l'autorevole tradizione di Demetrio, "corretta" in senso antitirannico forse da Plutarco stesso, che anche nel trattato La E di Delfi §3 385D–E nomina gli stessi sette sapienti della lista di Demetrio, in questo caso senza sostituzioni, ma con parole di critica verso Cleobulo e Periandro, a suo giudizio "rei" di essere stati tiranni e di essersi conquistati la fama di saggi solo con la forza e con le amicizie.

Il nome di Anacarsi compare nella lista dei diciassette savi di Ermippo Callimacheo e in quella di Ippoboto in compagnia di Orfeo, Lino, Solone, Periandro, Cleobulo, Misone, Talete, Biante, Pittaco, Epicarmo e Pitagora (DL I 42). Su Anacarsi, vedi DL I 101-5.

⁶⁵ Sono testimoni dell'uso scolastico alcuni papiri del II-I saec. a.C.: vedi W. A. Oldfather, "An Aesopic Fable," in *Schoolboy's Exercise* in *Aegyptus* 10 (1929) 255-56; S. Daris, "Esercizio scolastico (favole esopiche)," *Aegyptus* 52 (1972) 91-96 e "Parodia epica e favola animalesca," *Aevum Antiquum* 4 (1991) 163-80. Per testi d'epoca più recente, vedi G. Zalateo, "Papiri scolastici," *Aegyptus* 41 (1961) 160-235, nrr. 175, 185, 195, 208, 254 e 359. Plut. *De Aud. poet.* 14 E 9 parla dell'importante

vie di trasmissione: oltre a godere di una diffusa tradizione orale, le favole entrarono anche nella letteratura, senza identificarsi però con nessuna forma letteraria definita.

Fra i generi letterari che dall'età arcaica accolsero le favole, un filone importante sembra essere stato quello in prosa. Gli antichi *Logoi* etnografici e le storie locali della Ionia forse ne contenevano un certo numero narrate da determinati personaggi in certe circostanze. Dionigi di Alicarnasso nel *De Thuc*. 5.2–3, dopo aver enumerato i nomi dei più antichi logografi, ricorda che essi sceglievano e trattavano i loro argomenti in modo molto simile, sia che parlassero di Greci che di barbari: non collegavano tra loro i racconti, ma li tenevano distinti per popoli e città, presentandoli in opere separate. Il loro unico scopo era questo: far conoscere a tutti, prendendole come erano, senza aggiungere né togliere nulla, le memorie conservate presso la gente del luogo, distinte per popolo e per città, oppure giacenti nei templi e nei luoghi profani. In queste memorie c'erano anche alcuni racconti a cui da molto tempo si credeva e alcune peripezie spettacolari che al tempo di Dionigi di Alicarnasso sembravano sciocche.⁶⁶

Questa testimonianza sulla tradizione logografica ed etnografica può essere fruttuosamente collegata con un passo di Teone che, oltre a Esopo, il migliore dei favolisti, ricorda anche il nome di altri personaggi meno noti, ma che narrarono fiabe: egli ce li presenta in ogni caso con il nome accompagnato dall'ethnos. Scrive: "(Le fiabe) vengono chiamate esopiche in modo generale, non perché Esopo sia stato il primo inventore delle favole (sembrano infatti conoscerle anche Omero, Archiloco e altri più vecchi di lui e invero vengono ricordati come favolisti anche Connis di Cilicia, Turos il sibarita e Cybisso di Libia),

ruolo delle favole nel curriculum educativo del suo tempo. Nei Progymnasmata di età imperiale un capitolo sul μῦθος apre in genere la trattazione: Hermog., Progymn.§1 in Spengel, Rh.Gr. II, pp. 3-4; Aphth., Progymn.§1 in Spengel, Rh.Gr. II, p. 21; Theon, Progymn.§3 in Spengel, Rh.Gr. II, pp. 72-78; Nicol., Progymn.§1 in Spengel, Rh.Gr. III, pp. 451-55.

⁶⁶ D.H. De Thuc. VII.5.2: ... άλλὰ κατ' ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ πόλεις διαιροῦντες καὶ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων ἐκφέροντες, ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν φυλάττοντες σκοπόν, ὅσαι διεσώζοντο παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις μνῆμαι κατὰ ἔθνη τε καὶ κατὰ πόλεις, ⟨ῆ⟩ εἰ τ' ἐν ἱεροῖς εἴ τ' ἐν βεβήλοις ἀποκείμεναι γραφαί, ταύτας εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων γνῶσιν ἐξενεγκεῖν, οἵας παρέλαβον, μήτε προστιθέντες αὐταῖς τι μήτε ἀφαιροῦντες· ἐν αἷς καὶ μῦθοί τινες ἐνῆσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ πεπιστευμένοι χρόνου καὶ θεατρικαί τινες περιπέτειαι πολὺ τὸ ἠλίθιον ἔχειν τοῖς νῦν δοκοῦσαι (ed. G. Aujac [Paris 1991]).

ma per il fatto che Esopo le usò con maggior abbondanza e destrezza."67 Le ricorrenti testimonianze delle fiabe di Esopo, sempre legate a episodi della sua vita, i riferimenti a favole narrate da altri personaggi in precise occasioni (Ciro in Her. I 141 o Stesicoro in Arist. Rhet. 1393b10-22), la caratteristica indicazione dell'origine etnica di una fiaba e del suo narratore (oltre agli esempi di Teone, vedi *supra* i casi presentati al §4) inducono a sospettare che proprio la storiografia, specie attraverso i Logoi etnografici, abbia rappresentato un significativo canale di divulgazione delle fiabe scritte in prosa. "Since the tradition of public lectures given by Herodotus and Hippias of Elis is so well founded, it is sometimes taken for granted that the Ionian logographers also gained fame and wealth by lectures on historical subjects, and wandered from city to city like sophists":68 pare dunque che episodi della vita di Esopo potessero essere entrati in alcuni di questi Logoi e tale interpretazione tra l'altro può spiegare il fatto che sull'ἔθνος di Esopo esistano tradizioni differenti (T 4–7 Perry).

Credo che nella letteratura greca, prima di Demetrio, sia possibile cogliere testimonianze di una circolazione scritta di episodi della vita di Esopo uniti alla narrazione di favole, ma non di un suo βίος monografico. Le parole οὐδ' Αἴσωπον πεπάτηκας di Aristoph. Aves 471–72, difficili da interpretare, sembrano un elemento troppo debole a sostegno di questa seconda ipotesi.

M. West sospetta che la *Vita* di Esopo potesse esser stata composta nella città di Samo nel V sec. a.C.⁷⁰ e M. Adrados sostiene che proprio a Samo la leggenda di Esopo abbia potuto combinarsi con quella di Akicharos:⁷¹ entrambi gli studiosi presuppongono che nel V sec. a.C. potesse già essersi formato il libro con la leggenda biografica di Esopo a cornice delle sue favole, forse già strutturato sulla base del modello

⁶⁷ Theon, *Progymn*. §3 Spengel, *Rh.Gr.*, II p. 73, 14–21: Αἰσώπειοι δὲ ὀνομάζονται ὡς ἐπίπαν, οὐχ ὅτι Αἴσωπος πρῶτος εὑρετὴς τῶν μύθων ἐγένετο ("Ομηρος γὰρ καὶ Ἡσίοδος καὶ ᾿Αρχίλοχος καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς πρεσβύτεροι γεγονότες αὐτοῦ φαίνονται ἐπιστάμενοι, καὶ δὴ καὶ Κόννις ὁ Κίλιξ, καὶ Θοῦρος ὁ Συβαρίτης, καὶ Κυβισσὸς ἐκ Λιβύης, μνημονεύονται ὑπό τινων ὡς μυθοποιοί), ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι Αἴσωπος αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον κατακόρως καὶ δεξιῶς ἐχρήσατο.

⁶⁸ L. Pearsons, Early Ionian Historians (Oxford 1939 = Westport, CT 1975) 8.

⁶⁹ Così riconosce anche Holzberg 1993, 25.

⁷⁰ West 1984, 119–28 e la discussione seguente (129–36).

⁷¹ M. Adrados nella discussione dell'intervento di West citato nella nota precedente, a pagina 130.

orientale.⁷² La tesi è interessante, ma rimane nel campo delle ipotesi, mancandone le prove.

Cercando dunque un altro possibile contesto nel quale la tradizione del saggio orientale Akicharos avrebbe potuto incontrarsi con i racconti su Esopo, non si può non pensare proprio alla scuola peripatetica, dove era vivo l'interesse per la tradizione sapienziale, per i βίοι dei personaggi politici e letterari, per il mondo animale (considerato anche dal punto di vista fisiognomico e in rapporto alle fiabe); soprattutto sappiamo che Teofrasto compose una versione greca dell'*Akicharos*.

E' certamente significativo il fatto che Teofrasto, amico-maestro di Demetrio, scrisse tre libri di β íoι (Περὶ β ίων α' β' γ' , DL V 42 = 436 nr. 16 FHS&G), che il suo successore Stratone fu autore di un Περί βίων (DL V 59 = Straton fr. 18 Wehrli) e che Clearco di Soli, allievo di Aristotele e più giovane contemporaneo di Demetrio, scrisse a sua volta almeno otto libri di *Vite* (cfr. Clearchus, frr. 37–62 Wehrli). Demetrio stesso nei suoi scritti filologici ricercò le notizie biografiche dei poeti che stava studiando, come ben testimonia il fr. 144 SOD.⁷³ L'interesse per il filone della sapienza antica e per le figure dei sapienti è testimoniato in Teofrasto dai titoli di alcune opere: oltre all' 'Ακίχαρος α' (DL V 50 = 727 nr. 13 FHS&G), egli fu autore di un Περὶ σοφῶν α' (DL V 48 = 727 nr. 12 FHS&G), di un $\Pi \epsilon \rho i \gamma \nu \omega \mu \eta \varsigma \alpha'$ (DL V 46 = 666nr. 7 FHS&G) e di un Περὶ παροιμιῶν α' (DL V 48 = 727 nr. 14 FHS&G). Teofrasto narrò la leggenda del tripode destinato all'uomo più sapiente, ma che nessuno dei sette savi volle trattenere presso di sé, facendolo passare di mano l'uno all'altro: il tripode partì da Biante, passò poi in mano a Talete e, alla fine del giro, una volta ritornato al primo, venne mandato a Delfi (Plut. Solon 4.7 = nr. 583 FHS&G). Plutarco aggiunge la notizia che, diversamente da Teofrasto, ci fu chi, al

⁷² Tuttavia West (1984, 120) scrive che "This does not necessarly mean that whenever someone refers to an Aesopic fable in the fifth-century Athens he is quoting from an established account of Aesop's life." Il West riconosce infatti che i riferimenti letterari, soprattutto di Aristofane, alludono a una pluralità di λόγοι esopici. Questo punto, ammesso dallo stesso West, mi sembra togliere forza alla tesi di una biografia già formata e strutturata come genere letterario nel V sec. a.C. e a noi testimoniata da Aristofane.

⁷³ Perry 1962, 303: "In a fragment of his lost book, On Odyssey 1-4, which is quoted by the scholiast on Odyssey 3.267 and by Eustathius, Demetrius sketches the biography of the earliest poets, deduced with Peripatetic precision from what had been said about them incidentally in Homer and other early poets, or to some extent, perhaps, by logographers before his time rationalizing on the same basis."

posto del tripode, parlò di una φιάλη inviata ai sapienti da Creso o anche di un ποτήριον fatto circolare da Baticle:⁷⁴ è certamente significativo che nel *Giambo* I di Callimaco sia narrata proprio quest'ultima versione della leggenda. Ancor più significativa, forse, la coincidenza che i saggi scelti da Callimaco siano esattamente i medesimi che Demetrio selezionò per i suoi ᾿Αποφθέγματα τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν (Stobaeus *Anth*. III 1.172 = fr. 87 SOD), opera che, assieme al Χρειῶν α΄ (DL V 81 = fr. 1 SOD), documenta l'interesse del Falereo per la letteratura legata alle figure dei Sapienti. Anche Clearco di Soli scrisse sui *Proverbi* (Παροιμίαι, Clearchus, frr. 63–83 Wehrli), intervenendo a sua volta sulla leggenda del bicchiere passato di mano tra i sapienti.⁷⁵

Aristotele scrisse un libro di Παροιμίαι (DL V 26) e si è già considerato il passo della *Retorica* in cui collegò le favole alle γνῶμαι (*Rhet*. 1394b–1395a).

La concentrazione di questi interessi all'interno della scuola Peripatetica ci presenta dunque un ambito nel quale, tra IV e III secolo a.C., la figura del favolista Esopo poteva venire facilmente connessa alla tradizione dei Sapienti in un libro che aveva come probabile modello orientale l'*Akicharos* divulgato in greco da Teofrasto (opera che sembra esser stata disponibile nella Biblioteca di Alessandria⁷⁶).

Per spiegare il libro Αἰσωπείων α' di Demetrio non è sufficiente considerare il clima culturale del Peripato: come già dissi, fondamentale è la sua presenza ad Alessandria. L'uso della favola da parte di Callimaco rivela non solo la simpatia del poeta, fautore della λεπτότης, per questo genere di racconti, ma anche l'ingresso nella sua poesia di

⁷⁴ Sulla complessa tradizione del tripode o della coppa passata di mano ai sapienti, vedi l'importante sintesi di Barkowski 1923, 2248–51.

⁷⁵ Secondo la testimonianza di DL I 30 Clearco di Soli scrisse che una φιάλη fu consegnata da Creso a Pittaco, iniziando così il giro tra le mani dei sapienti (Clearchus, fr. 70 Wehrli).

⁷⁶ Nella lunga lista di opere teofrastee tramandata da DL V 42–50 furono riconosciuti da H. Usener (*Analecta Theophrastea*, Diss. Lipsiae 1858 = *Kleine Schriften* I [Leipzig and Berlin 1912] 50–87) quattro cataloghi: i primi due e il quarto sono redatti in ordine alfabetico, mentre non è riconoscibile nessun criterio nell'elenco delle opere del terzo gruppo. Il titolo 'Ακίχαρος è collocato, in ordine alfabetico, nel quarto catalogo (DL V 50 = 1.273 e 727.13 FHS&G). L'Usener dimostrò che l'ordine alfabetico di questi cataloghi risale ai sistemi di catalogazione della Biblioteca di Alessandria e, per restringere il cerchio, al lavoro di Ermippo, detto "Callimacheo" in quanto allievo di Callimaco (69–70).

una tradizione lidia su Esopo, prima sconosciuta, ma che si ritrova poi anche in successive tradizioni (vedi T 1, 3, 7, 35, 36 Perry).

Non si può escludere che Demetrio abbia avuto un certo ruolo nel recupero del filone storiografico o leggendario che connetteva Esopo alla Lidia, a Creso e alla leggenda dei sette sapienti. Proprio ad Alessandria si ebbe un forte afflusso di libri di antichi logografi della Ionia, non attraverso Atene, ma "by a direct route";⁷⁷ è probabile che fosse arrivata anche una storia della Lidia contenente episodi che legavano Creso al favolista Esopo e forse anche ad alcuni dei sapienti del VI secolo.

Pensando all'opera sulle favole di Demetrio si parla sempre di "raccolta," riprendendo il termine συναγωγή usato da Diogene Laerzio, ma assente nei titoli della lista delle sue opere.

In verità mi sembra che l'Aἰσωπείων α' di Demetrio potesse sì essere il frutto di un'accurata ricerca e una raccolta di materiali dispersi, ma che forse non sia corretto credere che con il termine συναγωγή Diogene Laerzio abbia voluto descrivere una sorta di antologia, intesa come insieme di testi avulsi da una loro cornice narrativa e presentati in una forma simile a quella della raccolta di favole del Papiro Rylands del I sec. d.C.⁷⁸ (nel quale il Perry riconobbe un testimone della perduta opera di Demetrio⁷⁹) o delle collezioni di Babrio e di Fedro: in genere, invece, si ritiene che Demetrio abbia composto la prima antologia di favole, prototipo delle più tarde sillogi.⁸⁰

Per quanto conosco, mi è difficile trovare già in una delle opere dei Peripatetici del IV-III secolo la forma dell'antologia letteraria, intendendo come tale una collezione di testi "scelti" ed estrapolati dal proprio contesto originario: un'opera del genere mi pare essere piuttosto un prodotto che nasce dall'erudizione ellenistica (cfr. e.g., i frammenti

⁷⁷ Pearson 1939, 9.

⁷⁸ C. H. Roberts, Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library (Manchester 1938) III, 119–28, nr. 493.

⁷⁹ B. E. Perry, "The Origin of the Epimythium," *TAPA* 71 (1940) 391–419; Id. 1962; Id, "Fable," *Studium Generale* 12 (1959) 30; Id. 1965, Introduction, LXXXIV e nota 2.

⁸⁰ Oltre al Perry (supra nota 79), v. anche F. R. Adrados, "Les collections de fables à l'époque hellénistique et romaine in A A.V V. 1984, 165 e Discussion, 191–92, e Id. Historia de la fábula greco-latina, I:425-26 (qui Adrados applica il termine "antologia" a testi ellenistici di varia natura, spogliando così il termine dell'accezione che gli è propria). M. West, nella discussione dell'intervento di Adrados in A A.V V. (1984, 192) afferma, a proposito dell'opera di Demetrio: "His συναγωγή seems to have been a pioneering entrerprise, and subsequent Hellenistic collections are likely to have been inspired by it and indebted to it."

papiracei nrr. 1569, 1572, 1575, 1593, 1594, 1612, 1613 Pack²). Penso a opere di Aristotele, Teofrasto, Stratone, Demetrio e Clearco, per quel che le possiamo conoscere. Mi sembra che costoro abbiano avuto il criterio di cercare, raccogliere e classificare sempre con ἀκρίβεια documenti o materiali di natura scientifica, antiquaria, dottrinale o storico-letteraria, inserendoli poi nel contesto di propri ragionamenti o discorsi, spesso critici.

Potrebbero forse essere considerate eccezioni il libro aristotelico Διδασκαλίαι (Aristoteles, nr. 137 Gigon), i Νόμων κατὰ στοιχεῖον κδ΄ (DL V 44 = 589 nr. 17a FHS&G) o i Χαρακτῆρες di Teofrasto: si tratta infatti di opere con testi presentati secondo un certo ordine al di fuori di una cornice discorsiva; tuttavia la natura e soprattutto i contenuti di queste opere è molto diversa da quella di un'antologia di testi letterari e di favole. Nei primi due casi si tratta dell'esposizione dei dati di una ricerca antiquaria, nel terzo caso di una catalogazione di tipologie di difetti umani, distinti in base a lievissime sfumature (forse in base al criterio classificatorio κατὰ μᾶλλον καὶ ἦττον).⁸¹ I frammenti delle δημηγοριῶν τε καὶ πρεσβειῶν συναγωγαί di Demetrio (DL V 80; Demetrius, frr. 1, 2, 80, 82A–B, 83, 84, 85 SOD) non permettono di affermare che fossero raccolte di materiali presentati senza una cornice discorsiva.

Non mi sembra dunque che ci sia evidenza sufficiente per credere che l'Aἰσωπείων α' di Demetrio fosse, come voleva il Perry, un nudo e crudo "repertory of literary raw materials for the use of writers and speakers," né che possa essere corretto chiamarla "antologia." 83

Mi pare che le raccolte antologiche di fiabe del tipo testimoniato dal Pap. Ryl. del I sec. d.C. possano essere testimoni della fortuna delle favole in età ellenistica: è probabile che in quest'epoca siano avvenute le prime estrapolazioni di favole dalla raccolta di Demetrio, per un uso scolastico⁸⁴ e retorico.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Sulla originaria natura dei *Caratteri*, forse ora difficilmente riconoscibile a causa delle vicende del testo in età tardo-antica e medioevale, vedi E. Matelli, "Conservazione e selezione dei testi teofrastei in età tardo-antica: il caso dei Caratteri," in *Esegesi*, *Parafrasi e compilazione in età tardo-antica*, Atti del Terzo Convegno dell'associazione di Studi Tardoantichi, 273–85.

⁸² Perry 1965, Introduction LXXXV nota 2.

⁸³ Adrados 1984, 425–26.

⁸⁴ Vedi *supra* nota 65.

⁸⁵ Questa è l'opinione del primo editore del Pap. Ryl., C. H. Roberts 1938, III, nr. 493, p. 121.

Sembrerebbe così forse più realistico pensare che la raccolta di Demetrio, composta probabilmente negli anni del suo soggiorno ad Alessandria (quindi circa nel primo decennio del III sec. a.C.), presentasse, secondo la tradizione, un certo numero di fiabe inserite in un proprio contesto: non doveva certamente mancare, nella presentazione dei testi, un metodo critico e una ricerca antiquaria tipici del Peripato e della nuova civiltà alessandrina (e forse riflessi anche in un βίος di Esopo).

Il titolo Αἰσωπείων α΄ rivela che Demetrio volle definire le sue fiabe proprio in riferimento alla figura di Esopo e non agli altri rami della tradizione favolistica. Per quanto riguarda le dimensioni del libro, vorrei ricordare le problematiche parole con cui Diogene Laerzio introduce l'elenco delle opere del Falereo: πλήθει δὲ βιβλίων καὶ ἀριθμῷ στίχων σχεδὸν ἄπαντας παρελήλακε τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν Περιπατητικούς. Così è probabile che la raccolta di fiabe di Demetrio fosse un libro di ampia consistenza, pur non contenendo forse un gran numero di favole (tra 50 e 100 secondo Perry). Quasi sicuramente nel proporre le fiabe di Esopo ed esopiche egli "riscrisse" in prosa tutti i testi delle sue fonti, uniformandone lo stile. Ma forse la sua raccolta comprendeva un materiale anche più ricco.

Come dissi all'inizio, il titolo Αἰσωπείων α' e non Αἰσώπου λόγων α' può farci sospettare che la raccolta di favole di Demetrio contenesse non solo favole "di Esopo," ma anche favole "esopiche," cioè liberamente costruite su alcuni modelli del favolista del VI secolo. Se così fu, mi sembra che nella sua raccolta Demetrio colse in modo preciso la natura della favola e in particolare della favola esopica.

Esopo infatti per lo più non aveva "inventato" fiabe, ma raccontato con particolare *verve* racconti più antichi, adattandoli a nuove situazioni.⁸⁸ Che le favole fossero dei testi "aperti" lo aveva teorizzato

Per il metodo aristotelico di "riscrittura" dei testi delle sue fonti, vedi le parole di Gigon 1987, 389 nell'introduzione del nr. 77 (Τεχνῶν συναγωγή α' β').

⁸⁶ Perry 1962, 334; Adrados 1984, 421-508; Nøjgaarg nella Discussione dell'intervento di Adrados in A A.V V. 1984, 190. Tuttavia del numero effettivo di favole non sappiamo nulla.

⁸⁷ I favolisti di età imperiale si vantarono di mettere in versi la musa pedestre di Esopo ed è dunque verosimile e generalmente riconosciuto che anche la raccolta di Demetrio presentasse i testi delle favole in prosa. Per lo stile dell'opera, v. Perry 1962, 343ss.

⁸⁸ Αἴσωπος αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον κατακόρως καὶ δεξιῶς ἐχρήσατο (Theon, *Progymn*. §3, Spengel II, *Rh.Gr.*, p. 73, 20–21). Per una citazione più completa del passo vedi supra nota 67.

Aristotele nella sua *Retorica*, ma è soprattutto la storia della fiaba a dimostrarlo.⁸⁹ Nei versi 652–54 degli *Uccelli*, Aristofane cita il racconto della volpe e dell'aquila⁹⁰ introducendolo come una delle favole di Esopo (ὅρα νῦν ὡς ἐν Αἰσώπου λόγοις ...;) e lo scolio al passo nota che le fiabe vengono correttamente (σαφῶς) attribuite ad Esopo, anche questa che pure era già stata raccontata da Archiloco, più vecchio di Esopo.⁹¹ Analogo è il caso della fiaba dello scarabeo e dell'aquila che Aristofane attribuisce a Esopo in risposta ad un'ingiusta accusa, ma che noi sappiamo esser già stata raccontata nei giambi di Semonide.⁹²

L'interesse prioritario della raccolta di Demetrio era certamente di recuperare quel patrimonio di favole e di sapienza che, pur disperso e fluido, era legato alla figura di Esopo e i casi della sua vita; ma non escludo che, proprio in coerenza con la tradizione aperta della fiaba, egli potesse averne dimostrato la vitalità accogliendo anche materiali di "fresca" composizione.⁹³

Mi sembra di poter ipotizzare che il libro Αἰσωπείων α' potesse contenere al tempo stesso elementi tradizionali ed elementi di novità rispetto al passato: così se da una parte penso che le fiabe di Esopo non fossero disgiunte dal contesto biografico che le avevano originate, credo anche che Demetrio possa talora aver aggiunto al racconto delle favole anche una spiegazione del loro significato (aprendo in un certo senso la strada ai successivi promythia ed epimythia che caratterizzano la presentazione delle fiabe avulse dal proprio contesto nelle successive antologie). Tale necessità di spiegare e razionalizzare i contenuti metaforici di un testo mi sembra coerente con l'educazione filosofica di Demetrio. Vorrei citare a sostegno di questa ipotesi un frammento

⁸⁹ "Favole esopiche" sono create da Socrate (Plato *Phaedo* 60c: Καί μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη, εἰ ἐνενόησεν αὐτὰ Αἴσωπος, μῦθον ᾶν συνθεῖναι ὡς ...), dall'oratore Demade (Fr. XXII De Falco) e forse anche di Demostene (Ps. Plut. *Vitae X or.* 848A). Cfr. anche Aristofane, *Vesp.* 1258–60: (... ἢ λόγον ἔλεξας αὐτὸς ἀστεῖόν τινα, / Αἰσωπικὸν γέλοιον ἢ Συβαριτικόν, / ὧν ἔμαθες ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ).

⁹⁰Cfr. F 1 Perry.

⁹¹ Schol. in Aristoph. Aves 651 (Dübner): "Ότι σαφῶς ἀνετίθεσαν Αἰσώπῳ τοὺς λόγους, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν παρὰ τῷ 'Αρχιλόχῳ λεγόμενον, καίτοι πρεσβυτέρῳ ὄντι. Vedi anche lo Schol. Il. T 407c, citato alla nota 17.

⁹² Semonides fr. 13 West e Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1446–49, *Pax* 127–34, *Lys.* 695.

⁹³ Non escluderei ad esempio che Demetrio, il quale aveva svolto un'intensa attività politica ad Atene prima dell'esilio in Egitto, in alcune occasioni avesse usato, forse adattandole alle proprie necessità, alcune favole "esopiche," o che anche ne avesse inventate di nuove sempre sul medesimo modello, facendole poi entrare nel suo Αἰσωπείων α΄.

teofrasteo nel quale il filosofo cerca di "spiegare" il mito di Poseidone che donò il fuoco agli uomini interpretandolo come una metafora del suo dono della filosofia: Θεόφραστος δὲ τὸν Προμηθέα φησὶ σοφὸν γενόμενον μεταδοῦναι πρῶτον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φιλοσοφίας, ὅθεν καὶ διαδοθῆναι τὸν μῦθον, ὡς ἄρα πυρὸς μεταδοίη (729 FHS&G).94

Vorrei concludere sottolineando che ad Alessandria ci fu certamente un fruttuoso incontro tra i metodi peripatetici di ricerca antiquaria, lo straordinario afflusso di libri, la nascita dell'erudizione libraria e il desiderio di una nuova poesia. Credo che proprio qui Demetrio possa aver composto l'opera, unendo gli stimoli della sua esperienza peripatetica al nuovo clima culturale del Regno d'Egitto. La considerevole accoglienza della fiaba da parte della poesia ellenistica ispirata al $\lambda \epsilon \pi \tau \acute{o} v$ mi porta a sospettare che l'iniziativa di Demetrio non fosse estranea alle esigenze della nuova poetica alessandrina, a cui dava e da cui al tempo stesso riceveva un forte stimolo. 95

 $^{^{94}}$ Il frammento teofrasteo è pubblicato nel capitolo *Miscellanea*, sezione *Reperta et incepta* dell'ed. FHS&G nr. 729: credo che esso possa essere messo in relazione con l'opera Περὶ σοφῶν α' (DL V 48 = 727 nr. 12 FHS&G).

⁹⁵ E. Livrea, Da Callimaco a Nonno. Dieci studi di poesia ellenistica (Messina e Firenze 1995) 62 nota 10: "Quanto la poetica callimachea deva all'aristotelismo e in particolare al περὶ λέξεως di Teofrasto è problema tuttora nemmeno sfiorato dall'indagine filologica." Ma a sua volta anche la ricerca peripatetica della generazione successiva al caposcuola sembra aver ricevuto fruttuosi stimoli dal contatto con il nuovo centro di cultura ad Alessandria.



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